1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

262 The principal food was the tortilla, a flat cake of un-
[415] leavened corn meal, which measured a good foot in diameter,
855 to judge from the size of the clay griddles used in cooking them, in contrast to the modern tortilla which varies between four and six inches. At three the child received half a tortilla a day; at four and five his ration was doubled; from six to twelve a tortilla and a half were prescribed, and at thirteen the allotment was two. Supplemented by beans and game, this diet was filling and nutritious.

861 The Mendoza manuscript reflects the current Aztec ideas on child psychology. Admonition was the chief method of discipline up to the eighth year. From then on a rigorous corporal punishment awaited the recalcitrant child. This discipline ranged from pricking the hand with the maguey spine to exposing the child to the chill rigors of a mountain night, lying bound and naked in a mud puddle. In view of the almost
[855] universal kindness which Indian parents show to their children, they probably seldom applied these extremely imaginative corrections for wrongdoing by the young.

868 This type of training, not unlike that of a modern farm
871 child, initiated him directly into the economic life of the
793 home. The satisfactions in playing a man's part by contributing to the family welfare compensated the child for the heaviness of his social obligation. At fifteen or sixteen most boys went through a special training before assuming the full rights of manhood; under certain conditions they were younger when they received this special instruction. There were two types of schools: the *telpuchcalli*, or house of youth, for standard training, and the *calmecac* of uncertain etymology, for instruction in priestly duties. The *telpuchcalli*, maintained by the clan for the children of its members, offered instruc-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Astec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[20]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifications, and formal military architecture was rare. The temples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

Obsidian must have had important economic value for the Valley peoples, and since volcanic glass is portable and very useful for its sharp cutting edge, it was widely traded to the tribes of nonvolcanic regions. Techniques were established early in the Middle Culture, and the art of polishing this stone was known to the Teotihuacan Toltecs, who utilized it as eyes for the idols of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl. Ceremonial bloodletting called for a constant supply of thin blades (made by pressure flaking), some of which are exquisitely long and narrow. Yet scalpels of comparable fineness were made in Toltec and Mazapan times as well. Indeed, the principal innovation of the Aztecs was in fashioning vases from obsidian, a formidable task, owing to its hardness.[8]

The making of mirrors called much ingenuity into play. They are so rare that they must have been used solely for ritualistic magic. Blocks of obsidian were sometimes polished to produce an eerie and mysterious reflection. However, iron pyrites, burnished and shaped, were more common; and rarer examples had thin pyrite flakes laid in a mosaic and glued to a background of wood or shell. In another technique used on the coast the artisan detached a surface of pyrites in its matrix of slate, burnishing one side and carving the other to fashion a mirror with a carved back. One example, at least, is known of a mirror of marcasite with its surface so ground as to produce a magnified reflection.[9]

Stone sculpture we shall consider more conveniently under art, but the mass production of dressed stone for building must have required patience and skill to accomplish. Stoneworking throughout Middle America was achieved without metal tools. Flaking and chipping for the hard stones, pecking and hammering for the softer ones, were the preliminary

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes." (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

themselves the owners of extensive estates by which their descendants could profit. The Spaniards married into chiefly families, which they believed hereditary, according to their own cultural pattern. In some cases chiefs, like those of Tlaxcala, received coats of arms and patents of nobility from the king for their service in the Spanish cause. Out of 190 coats of arms presented for services during the Conquest of Middle and South America, at least twenty were granted to Indians. In consequence there took place a modest renascence of Indian culture. Indian authors like Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin set forth, in Spanish or Nahuatl, the annals of their forebears as proof of their descent from great Indian nobles and of their right to Spanish honors as well.[4] (See Plate 44.)

The old culture died slowly. In the Indian towns the records were kept in both Spanish and the old Aztec pictographic system to avoid dispute. Dress maintained its old form, except that the friars insisted on trousering the Indians. The rich agriculture was a great boon to the conquerors, who modified it little except for the addition of fruit trees and wheat. Household utensils, like pottery, revealed an engaging fusion of Indian and Spanish ideas, and glazing delighted the Indians, who applied the flux to purely aboriginal forms. Some enchanting little sculptures in clay reveal the old gods and goddesses masquerading as saints in a very thin disguise.

The Indians were used to building temples, and it seemed to them perfectly fitting that they should labor long hours in great numbers to rear structures honoring the new gods. The conversion was so popular that the churches were too small to hold the worshipers, and several conventual temples, like Acolman, Actopan and Tlamanalco, had chapels which

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five-corner earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had necklaces and ear-shells. He shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stones. He carried the staff with the device for eating.

Fourteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people feasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as carried punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[71]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quit, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, five all feasted four days. Some fasted three: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "*painted atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the face of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tzoalli* of corn not softened by lime,[72] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they bent the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tzoalli* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery straws.

Some then offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tzoalli* with a straw, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched straws or lightning-bolts; [or] honeyed *tzoalli*, *tzoalli* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and darts.

And here, in Mexico, from everywhere, were brought cupdrums, called "rubber-cup-drums," [from] all realms [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnavi capitulo: intlapa tlatoa in teuil, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nemiaque, ynjc netoutilocia tecpantzinco intech: 776
yn jquac nequaxjlloia, intla aca tequjchtj ipan cioacochtj, 688
aneço cioatl, ipan equjchcochtic: mjtoaia, qujntlaçalmjctia 753
yn jnepanoltc,
ic quimmocaia, ytech qujtlalaia, qujmilhujtilaia, qujnamacalaia, in xochicuicatl, yn nemoztlatli, tlapalanaltilatli, [785
quenilnelli, 834]
yuicpa nemoa, nemoltilloia, ynjc qujcuia, ynjc
qujquamo ynjc qujcuaoaz, cuculatli.
Auh yn jquac illuejqujxtilloia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa 776
nevilhujtl nemachiçoaloc: in cequjntin ic moçoaoia, chil- 796
caoaia, qujnenpanoa tomatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, [264]
inelnequaoa qujmotiuh, tlacuÿolanalli in quja, xochitentli
yn ipan ca, nemachiçoac:

mochi quiqua in velic, çan no nepanoa tomatiuh
qujmotiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujcaviaia, in itlaxcalli
quiquaia, ayc chilli: no nepanoa tomatiuh quimotiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jllnejquxtilloia, iquac oc tlacat
quiquitiquitlatiaia, cenmaçquaia yn jtlaoac, ipan mjtoaia,
quÿlacotentiquÿlaia, quicujcuiaia:

yoan in ie nepanoa tomatiuh, tlacotentlaia, teçcaia, 776
tlacuçquechtlia: yuã tlamacujlloia yn jnenpan, macujlxel in [785]
quiquixtiquia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaquall, omca vevey
ipan yeuatiuh nochujtl:

yn aca quenhuatiil ynjc cenmaçquiaia, yoan cenmaçquiaia 776
oc no macuilxel tamalquiçoaoa, nalleuia: yoan vncel [785]
tamalli ytic panqui, no oncaj quenhuatiuh, matlactlia, cenxel 262
chiltic, cenxel tlacuchaqui. 796

Auh yn aca inqujd, aneço nenenqujd, aneço xoxoctic,
papalotentli, tolcuxcalli, tecuillacalli, tecuilchimalli,
tecuitlatl, tecuilnenquiqui, tecuilcuxcl:

yoan tecujcac cuicuxtlia, in tlamalti ojcac tentlac, 776
tentenco nalnequjna, yn jnquich nchiuhcuiloc, yn 796
ayc cenmaçquiltiaia—ayc cenxel chiltic ac tecuitlatl, quintocaia ytencopa: yuã nel ytencopa 727
ayc cenxel [?] tlatl [?] or the *tecuillacopil* (*Bordelli*) (see illus.). Sahag: *The Treasures of the Aztec Collection*, p. 73. Tlaxcalteca, in the Aztec text, should probably be *chontlacopa*.

71. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "Iuria, ora enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, postrimolestias del miembro genital, dolores, tiricias, etc."

73. In corresponding Spanish text "pasas cocidas."

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[439]

"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cocoa, and stoppers for jars.

Auh in tecomatl, in petecomatl, in aiauctli, in equauitl, yn atzacaxitl:

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[189] [that they might] mimic the natives.

[292]

inlaual inxtilan, in tzacuj, in tzacutica, ordan ommj, vel calaquj, motlacaccuepa in nechichioalixtica, in nezixtica, in tlaxilôtca quiualnelcallaqui in chanequa.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[190] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

[263
266]

Auh inila celaxquimalticpac, inila citteoçe: vncan quipopoiaxtia, quipchillatilia: çe xca, aço ce, aço vme yn oc nô tematitlania quiça, inhoual quioalmocuaia in motecuçoma:

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

ic vncan quimaca, caquilia, ypopoçoaltemoah, yc quimaviztotia, ic quimacaxtia, in tlacaxh, vncan ic aquichtia.

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301]

And when those who entered carried home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had entertainment in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

Auh yn iquac calacia, yachtin: vn ialloch, ynnecuepal aquichtinhque, yn otlalnechacico, yn otlatlachpachiuhque: inquich tlacatl quinoma, in pochteca: yuan in tlatoque, ic momatiticate:

It was called "the washing of the feet."[191] They paid great honor to the ones, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecutli.

mjma, mocxipeca, cenca quimaviztilaia yn itopil, yn jiacçaia yiacatecutli:

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In the tribal temple[192] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they summoned people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

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cana in calpulco quiquetzilia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn iquac tetlaqualtia: yuan intlaca nel motecuçoma, quitlamanjlia in çan muchiqa yn jtlaquaia.

[778]

And when they ceremonially bathed and drew a man as a sacrifice,[193] to whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecutli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecoatl, or Chalchiuhtlicue, Atlacuexotl, and Nixtoti, Cochineel, Yeupiltzintzan.[194] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

Auh intla aca tzaltic, inhoual caltiaia, quiçaaia in jiacatecutli: anoço cana inhuantin yn mochcaia, in quimotetzinia in chicomequjtzitl, anoço chalmecacioatl, yuan acxotecatzi, yuan nacatl, cochineel, iacapitzinco, ziuc quiçaaia, yiallodiana, yn aço ce, anoço vme, ca aiatz tlacatl:

They bought them then at the three markets at Azcapotzalco; they carried and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best ones, in good health, rich in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

vnqa cenca vnmaia yn tlacuxcujloca tecpantzalco: motlabtlatilia, motlapopoctlia, quimacuepa, quimjxtitia, yn qualtin quimacaqui, yn acan quimaquixti, in tlacatecti, in tlacamilacaqui, yn acan cuecuepa, yn atle intlacuh ca:

Such as these they drew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

yujc inhuan quimictiaqui, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquiçaliloia vitzilobuchtli:

Thereupon they gashed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecutli, which were assigned to them.

yquac quimchichioaia, quimolmaxoca, intech quitlalia yn jiacatecutli.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now drew up [the

Auh yn ximo quimjxtia, achtopa quimixtitlaia: mjtoa quimjxmatia, ic quimachtia in tealtiqui:

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189. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 371): Tlaxcallaltecpal "propiamente significa persona, que viene siempre, ó habitualmente, para servir generalmente, ó ordinariamente, y es cabo, y regla [para el pueblo enemigo de Mexicanos] . . . ."

190. Cf. Ixtlilxochitl (Kingsborough, p. 332) citing Mist. Rom. Coll. Mex. 3. f. 98.

191. Book IX of the Historia general deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llama lavatorio de pies, mentions washing vessels and hands.

192. Sahagún defines calpulli as "vocablo del barrio, ó parroquia" (Spanish version).

193. Sahagún defines the substantive in this sentence: "Estos dandos que matauan a estos esclauos."—Historia general, Vol. I, p. 213.

194. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecutli. Sahagún (Collected Works, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) mentions Cochineel and Yeupiltzintzan as synonyms for Yiacatecutli; "Chicomequjtl or Chalchiuhtlicue is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"). Atlacuexotl is Tezcatlipoca; Nixtoti is Quetzalcoatl.

776 Quemalcuel, Chalchiuitl yeuc, Tlaloc, Popocatepetl, Itzac
782 tepetl, Poiauhcuel,[117] and any other mountains of which
they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the mountains, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form, made to look like men.

They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
755 eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
mountains] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoa].

They rustled, quivered, and flew in the breeze. Canes of
fat, round seeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spotted papers.

● [115] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepictoa] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Thus
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were experi-
532 enced, to make [the Tepictoa] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoa were fashioned, thereupon they held
a vigil and made music for them.
755 During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoaca, round *tamales* which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoaca].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

Young jesters, in their capes, who cut capers, and unusual
[273 people, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.
463]

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoaca [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoaca
figures made of a dough of amaranth-seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused to be] fashioned the Tepictoa thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people sat drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the

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117. Gods of the air, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Popocatepetl and Itzac tepetl (Itzac cloud) are mountain-peaks in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhcuel is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*tzoa* amaranth), in the Spanish columns; Bdce matzon a qvquentiqua *Zuvuen der Stockdocken* (Einige Kopiel, p. 27).

119. ". . . *vnos papeles llenos de goma de vlli, a los vnos papeles llenauan semeiando*" (Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. 1, p. 128).

The second month they named Tlacaxipeualiztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast in honor of the god called Totec—[or], as another name, called Xipe—when they slew and flayed many slaves and captives.

Chapter 2
Tlacaxipeualiztli

From the captives whom they were to slay the owners themselves tore off the hair of the crowns of their heads and kept it as a relic. This they did in the tribal temple before the fire.

When the masters of the captives took their slaves to the temple where they were to slay them, they took them by the hair. And when they took them up the steps of the pyramid, some of the captives swooned, and their masters pulled them up and dragged them by the hair to the sacrificial stone where they were to die.

Having brought them to the sacrificial stone, which was a stone of three hands in height, or a little more, and two in width,* or almost, they threw them upon it, on their backs, and five [priests] seized them—two by the legs, two by the arms, and one by the head; and then came the priest who was to kill him. And he struck him with a flint [knife], held in both hands and made in the manner of a large lance head, between the breasts. And into the gash which he made, he thrust his hand and tore from [the victim] his heart; and then he offered it to the sun and cast it into a gourd vessel.

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called Quequacuilti,[1] laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.

"Al segundo mes, llamauan tlacaxipeoaliztli. En el primero dia deste mes: hazian vna fiesta a honrra del dios llamado Totec, y por otro nombre se llamaua xipe: donde matauan, y desollauan muchos esclauos y captiuos.

Cap. 2.
Tlacaxipeoaliztli

A los captiuos que matauan: arrancauãlos, los cabellos de la coronjlla, y guardauanlos, los mismos amos, como reliquias: esto hazian en el calpul delante del fuego.

Quando lleuauan los señores de los captiuos a sus esclauos al templo: donde los aujan de matar, lleuauanlos por los cabellos: y quando los subian, por las gradas del cu, algunos de los captiuos, desmayauan, y sus dueños los subian arrastrando por los cabellos, hasta el tazon donde aujan de morir.

Llegandolos al tazon: que era vna piedra de tres palmos de alto, o poco mas, y dos de ancho o casi: echauanlos sobre ella de espaldas: y tomauanlos cinco, dos por las piernas, y dos por los braços, y vno por la cabeça: y venja luego el sacerdote, que le auja de matar, y dauale con ambas manos, con vna piedra de pedernal: hecha a manera de hierro de lançon por los pechos, y por el agujero que hazia: metia la mano, y arrancauale el coraçon, y luego le ofrecia al sol, echauale en vna xicara.

Despues de auerles sacado el coraçon, y despues de auer echado la sangre en vna xicara: la qual recebia el señor del mismo muerto: echauan el cuerpo a rodar por las gradas abaxo del cu, vna a parar, en vna placeta abaxo: de alli le tomauan, vnos viejos, que llamavan quequacujlti, y le lleuaul a su calpul: donde le despedaçauan, y le repartian pa comer.

* Actually a palmo is defined as the span between thumb and end of little finger, hand outstretched. In Webster's Dictionary, the Portuguese palmo is 8.84 in.; in the Encyclopedia Britannica (14th ed.), the Spanish palmo is 9.239 in. A handbreadth is estimated as 3-4 in.

1. Marginal variation: Cuilohtin, quoan gente.

2. Marginal variation: Mimmos dolor dias mani.

3. Marginal variation: Auiadel arrebiçh or mani.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The seventeenth month they called Tititl. In this month they celebrated a feast to a goddess whom they named Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Toci, and by [still] another name, Cuecamiauh. In honor of this goddess they slew a woman, and as soon as they had torn out her heart they struck off her head and performed a dance with it. He who went before carried the head by the hair, in his right hand, making [with it] the gestures of the dance.

Al mes decimo septimo llamauan Tititl. En este mes hazíã ficsta a vna diosa que llamauã Jlamatecutli, y por otro nombre Tona, y por otro nombre cuecamjauh, a honrra desta diosa: matauan vna muger, y desque le auiã sacado el coraçon cortauanle la cabeça y hazian areyto con ella, el que yva adelante llcuaua la cabeça por los cabellos en la mano derecha, haziendo sus ademanes de bayle.

Chapter 17
Tititl

This woman whom they slew in this feast they arrayed in the adornments of that goddess whose likeness [she was], called Ilamatecutli, and by another name, Toci, which meaneth "Our Mother." This woman, thus bedight with the adornments [which are] set forth in the description, danced alone. A number of old men made music for her; and, dancing, she sighed and wept, mindful that soon she was to die. After midday, the priests arrayed themselves in the ornaments of all the gods, and went before her, and took her up to the pyramid where she was to die. Having stretched her out upon the sacrificial stone, they tore out her heart, and they struck off her head. Then one of those who went adorned as a god took [it], and, [with him] foremost, carrying it by the hair, they performed a dance with it. He who bore it in his right hand guided [them], and he made the dance gestures with it.

On the same day that the servants of the idols slew this woman, they performed certain mock-battles, and made merry, running—some behind the others—up and down the pyramid, enacting certain ceremonies.

On the next day, all the common folk made a number of sacks, like pockets, with some cords attached, as much as a fathom long. They filled these

1. Marginal notation: [illegible] de dha cosa

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Cada uno de los que auian hecho los talegos, tomaua vno dellos, y echauase sobre el hombro derecho, y yua corriendo por todas las calles, y topando con quantos topaua, hombres y mugeres, y dauales con el talego en las espaldas, con que los derribaua en el suelo, y no hazia mal a nadie mas de derribarlos. Y desta manera andauan todos los mas valientes hombres de la ciudad, y los mancebos, y los muchachos, corriendo por todas las calles, derribando quantos topauan. Y los que eran derribados, luego eran tomados de otros, y cargados sobre los hombros, y llcuados a sus casas, donde les hazian grandes fiestas, combidando a todos sus parientes y amigos. Y los que auian derribado a otros, yuanse a sus casas, y tomauan sus talegos, y boluian a yr corriendo por las calles, derribando a quantos topauan, como de antes lo hazian.

2. Marginal notation: Ejhcatzi dansa.

fasted, [some] for forty days, others for twenty, in order to prevail over chance, in order to paint well and to weave textiles well. For this purpose they offered quail and incense, and performed other ceremonies—the men to the god Chicome xochitl, and the women to the goddess Xochiquetzal.

The Third Movable Feast

In the third sign, which is called ce maçatl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses who are named Cioapipilti, because they said that then they came down to the earth. They adorned their images with papers and offered them offerings.

The Fourth Movable Feast

In the sign which is called ce maçatl, in the second house, which is called ome tochtli, they celebrated a great feast to the god named Izquitecatl, who is the second god of wine; and not alone to him but to all the gods of wine, who were many. On this day they adorned his image very well on his pyramid, and offered him things to eat, and they sang and played [musical instruments] before him. And in the courtyard of his pyramid they set a large open jar of wine, and those who were wine merchants filled it to overflowing, and all who wished went to drink. They had some canes through which they drank. The wine sellers kept feeding the large jar, so that it was always full. Mostly, those who had newly cut the maguey did this. The first syrup which they took out they took to the house of this god as first fruits.

The Fifth Movable Feast

In the sign called ce xochitl, in the first house, they celebrated a great feast. The leading men and the lords danced and sang in honor of this sign, and they otherwise made merry. And then they brought forth the richest feathers, with which they adorned themselves for the dance. In this feast the lord gave gifts to the warriors and to the singers and to the palace folk.

The Sixth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce acatl, in the first house, the lords and the leading men celebrated a great festival to Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds. This feast they observed in the house called calmecac, which was the house where dwelt the priests of the idols, and where were trained the boys. In this house, which was like

La tercera fiesta mouible.

En el tercero signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la primera casa hazian fiesta a las diosas que se llaman cioapipilti porque dezian que entonce decendian a la tierra, atavjauil a sus ymagines con papeles, y ofrecianlas ofrendas.

La quarta fiesta mouible

En el signo que se llama ce maçatl: en la segunda casa que se llama vme tochtli: hazian gran fiesta al dios llamado Yxquitecatl, que es el segundo dios del vino, y no solamente a el: pero a todos los dioses del vino que eran muchos: adereçavan este dia muy bien su ymagen en su cu, y ofrecianle cosas de comjda, y cantavan, y tañjan delante del: y en el patio de su cu, ponjan vn tinajon de pulcre, y hinchianle los que. eran taberneros hasta reberter, y yuan a beuer todos los que querian: tenjan vnas cañas con que beujã: los taberneros yuan ceuando el tinajon: de manera que siempre estaua lleno: principalmente hazian esto los q̃ de nueuo aujan cortado el magoey, la primera agua mjel que sacauan la lleuauan a la casa deste dios como primjcias.

La quinta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce xochitl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta, los principales, y señores, baylauan, y cantauan a honrra deste signo, y hazian otros regozijos: y sacauan entonce los mas ricos plumajes, con que se adereçauan para el areyto: y en esta fiesta, el señor hazia mercedes a los hombres de guerra, y a los cantores y a los del palacio.

La sexta fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce acatl: en la primera casa, hazian gran fiesta a quetzalcoual dios de los vientos: los señores y principales: esta fiesta hazian en la casa llamada calmecac, que era la casa donde morauan los sacrapas de los ydolos: y donde se criauan los muchachos, en esta casa que era como vn mones-

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[6]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquarwilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oquicheoatiuh, moquichitotiuh, nellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmotzacziliciuh, amo tlacuecuetlazotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlatenioticiuh, quiiauhcaioxitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo quimattiuh, quioalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechonjeuaque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencauiuia, qujmsquetaztiteca, qujmelletequj, yca ixquacoc, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochdi tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quinxaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in iehoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Cosubteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjlou, qujnoalittecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzinceuetpiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecuetpiujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quaquacujlti, calpulveyetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, onnonctolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: vmpa qujzeuelloa, qujtetequj, qujuetueloa: oc ie achto qujtonalia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujqujlia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj-

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6. In op. cit., p. 43, Sahagún qualifies a "*Sobre hombre Quauhxicalco*." Bandelier (op. cit.) defines *Quauhxicalco* as "*Contenu pour les sacrifices humains, fait sans doute allusion au Pulquhéisme. . . .*" Pony Turbiño de Bustamante Mendoza's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Méxicano: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 46, definitely states that the battle was at first, not abolition. Bandelier elsewhere it as "*un vaisseau servant d'autre de tombe, un ossuaire appelé parfois . . . ou se gravait encore des figures . . .*"

7. *Quachtamalli* probably *quauhchtamalli* is meant. This term, and its synonyms, *quauhchtamalli*, Sahagún (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers as meaning the sun.

8. Sahagún consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Aguilenchido* (cf. Rinaldo Kingsbell, p. 60). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 155, he breaks the word down into *quauhxi* and *calli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauhxi* was always understood to mean eagle. The vessels were actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, no less consistently elsewhere, uses the term *olmeca de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 18 v., Sahagún writes: "*Despues aquellos los sacrificavan, los llamavan quauhteca.*" In *loc. cit.*, Seler translates *quauhteca* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the conquered chiefs. The word went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, as the soul's passage and representative (p. 197).

10. Apparently Cf. Seler, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 91 is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Seler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. X, caps. 29 and 30.

Yet again an eagle[-costumed warrior] came out, doing just as had been done. All four [acted as if] fighting. They raised their shields and war clubs [as offerings] to the sun.

Now no longer did they delay, by turning back. When they came out, they came out dancing, they went in order. As if lying down on the ground, as if crawling along, flat on the ground, they went looking from side to side; they went up leaping and fighting.

And thereafter the Youallauan came forth, garbed like Totec; only he came last, after the others, behind the four great eagle and ocelot [warriors]; they lifted up their shields and war clubs, offering them and dedicating them to the sun.

Then all the impersonators, the proxies, of all the gods[15] emerged in order, ahead of all. They were called the lieutenants, the delegates, the images.

Similarly, they proceeded; they came in order; they came together. All came down. They came hence, from Iopico, from the very top of the [pyramid] Temple of Iopitli.

And when they had come down below, on the ground, on the earth, they gathered around the circular, flat, sacrificial stone; they seated themselves according to rank on large chairs called *quecholicpalli*.

And when they were seated, when they were arranged according to their importance, again the first in order was the chief priest, the Youallauan;[16] because it was his right, his office, that he should slay, offer as sacrifice, [that] with his hands he should destroy—with his hands hack open each of the captives destined for sacrifice.

When this was done, then trumpets were sounded; conch shells, large sea shells, were blown; men put their fingers in their mouths and whistled, and there was singing. With singing of songs and blowing of trumpets, they arrived. The Cuecuexca placed themselves in order, their shoulders decked with feather banners, and they encircled the offering-stone.

One [of the captors] quickly seized a captive. The captor, he who owned the captive, seized him by the head to bring him to the offering-stone.

When he had brought him there, he offered him wine;[17] and the captive raised the wine four times

Oc no cepa centetl oalquiça, in quauhtli, çan ie machioj in quichioaia, oallachecoaia in nenjoti: conjaujlitia yn jochiaual, yn jamacquauh iá tonatiuh:

zocmo oalnecoaia, ynic oaltzinilotia, çan njman ic oalquixtimanca, mitotitiujtze, momamantiuj: inhquin tlalli ixco motetecatiuj, inhquin tlaltitech ômjquj, mocacamahtiuj, nanacaztlachiztiuj, huecochelotiuj, tlatlaiecotiuj.

Auh in ie inhquj njman oalquiça, yiocallaoa, totec ipan quiztiujtz, ça oallatoquilia, ça oallatzacujtinh, ça oallacujtlapiloca, ça quinoalcentzacujtinh in nauja-tin, veucinti in quaquauhti, yn ocelo, ça oalmaça, oalmaana, conjaujlia yn inchimal yn jmaquauh in tonatiuh:

njman ie ic oalquiça oalmoiacatia, oalmotecpana, yn inqujchtin teixiptlaoa, yn japatilooan in inquichtin teteu: motocaiotiaia tepatiuhti, tepatillooan, teixiptlati:

çan ie no yuj in ujh motecpantiuj, cemonotiuj, ynic oaltemo: vmpa oalpeoa in iopico, vel icpac in teocalli iopitli.

Auh yn oacico tlatzintla, in tlalchi, in tlaltiech: njman quiçaoalo in temalacatl, yn ocoziaoaloque, motlatlalia tecpantoque, ypan veuey icpalli, ineca quecholicpalli.

Auh ynic onoquic, ynic tecpantoque, enetciacanoca, ie no cuele teiacantica, tlaiacatitica, in iooallaoa: ichica ca inequjuh, yncixcuiil catca, in tlamictix, in tetlathetix, ymac polioaz, ymac xamaniá yn inquich quauhtecatl:

in ie inhquj njman tlapitzalo, teccintli mopieza, quiquiztli, mapipitzoa, yoan cujco: cujcapan tlapitzalpan, in oalmoiacatia: motecpana in cuecateca, quiquequechpanoctuj, aztapanjtl, quiçaoaloa in temalacatl.

Ce cantiquiça in malli, icpac cantlah in tlamanj, in male, ynic quiçaça temalacac:

yn ocaxitique, quimaca vetli: auh yn vetli nappa coniavilia in malli: auh çatepan conj piaztica:

15. Durán, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 ff., names Uitzilopochtli, Quetzalcoatl, Tezi, Yopi, Tetea, and Iuppitoltel.
16. Corresponding Spanish qualifies "*el principal sacerdote, de aquella fiesta que se llamaua Youallauan.*"
17. Acosta (*op. cit.*, p. 68) says the captor raised the wine; Sahagún says the priestess.

[as an offering], and afterwards drank it with a long hollow gourd.

Then still another man, [a priest,] came out and cut the throat of a quail for the captive, him who was to be offered as a sacrifice; and when he had beheaded the quail, he raised [to the sun] the captive's shield, and cast the quail away, behind him.

Having done this, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round sacrificial stone; and when they had lifted him on the offering-stone, the wolf [priest] came to him, representing [a wolf], and known as "Old Wolf."[18] [He came forth] as the uncle of the captive destined for the sacrifice.

Then he took the rope holding the captive, which reached and was attached to the center [of the stone]; then he tied it about the waist[19] of the captive. And he gave him a war club, decked with feathers and set set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles,[20] with which to lay about him, with which to defend himself. And the captor, when he had left his prisoner on the offering-stone, thereupon went away [to the place where] he had stood [before]. He stood dancing, looking upon, and studying, his captive.

Then [the fight] was begun; the contest [was started]. Carefully they studied where they would smite him in a dangerous place, and cut him—perchance the calf of the leg, or the thigh, or his head, or his middle.

And if some captive was valiant and courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met and fought all four of the ocelot and eagle [warriors]. And if they could not weaken him, then came one who was left-handed. He then wounded his arm and threw him flat upon the surface. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the captive might falter and faint, yet he acquitted himself as a man.

And when one went faltering, sinking down on all fours, reeling and overcome in the fray, uselessly and vainly holding the war club, which they snatched from him, then his adversaries contended with him. And this useless one could now no longer do more;

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin quicotonjlia, in malli, in oncantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cujtlachtli ipan quiça, ipan mixeoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhquin intla catca in oncantli:

njman conana, in tenacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiolloco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, yoan conmaca; maquauitl, tlapotonilli, amo itztzo.

Yoan ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temotlaz ic momapatlaz. Auh in tlamanj, yn oconcaouto ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixquichcapa ontlachixticac, yn jmal conitzicac:

njman ic mopeoaltia, motlatlaiehecalhuja, motlachecalhuja, vel qujnmottilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, qujmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzco, anoço in mexpan, aneço in quappa, anoço in tlacotiuc.

Auh yn aca malli, iolchicaoac, iollotlapaliuj, vel yujujh in qujcaoa: in naujxtin qujnnamjquj, qujnmaixtlacoa, yn ocçelo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel qujhiocaoaltia, njman ozuh, opuchmaie, qujn iehoatl qujnmamictia, qujmaiauj, qujtentimaiauj: inju ipan mixeoaia in opochtli. Auh intlanel ie çotlaca, intlanel ie ihiiocaca, no çan oaloqujchena: noma oqujcheoa, in oncantli.

Auh in aca çi çetlacotiuh, çi xonauhtiuh, iolmicciuh, çi tlapolociuh: çi nen panca, çi nen pictli in qujcujcuetzi, yn ixnaquzuh: ic qujoalnamjquj, in qujoaoana, in tlaoaoanoqj. Auh in neh aca, aoctle cuechioa, aoctle onmaitia, aoctle ie oalmomapatla,

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18. "Viejo tío de los cautivos, o sacrificio del cautivo, cuando este es nuevo de uso"—corresponding Spanish text. *Cautivo/di* is here translated according to Simeon (*op. cit.*); figuratively, however, *cautivo* means "unfortunate" or "miserable"; false relationship is involved in *Molina, in Vocab. Español*, pp. 68, 73, and *Colloquios y Doctr.*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 88, and Vol. IV, p. 18. In the last reference, *in tlamaceliz* is as a symbol of the lower regions.

19. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, loc. cit.

20. *In ixo, ah, and ixoz* (p. 206), denoting these respectively specify "quatro palotes, hechos de palo de tea," and "quatro rayos de palo de tea." The captive first threw the bolt, and then used his club.

X 796 no more could he use his hands; no longer defend himself; no longer make himself do anything. No longer did he move; he did not speak. Then, faltering and fainting, he fell upon the surface, tumbling as if dead. He wished that he might stop breathing, that he might suffer [no longer], that he might perish, that he might cast off his burden of death.

And thereupon they quickly took and seized him, pushed him, and dragged him, and raised and stretched him out upon the edge of the round sacrificial stone.

And then, when the Youallauan went [forth], in the guise of Totec, he gashed [the captive's] breast, seized his heart, and raised it as an offering to the sun; and the priests placed it in the eagle vessel. And [413] another man, a priest, carried the [hollow] eagle cane[21] and set it in the breast of the captive, there where the heart had been; he stained it with blood; he submerged it well into the blood. Thereupon he offered [the blood] to the sun. It was said: "Thus he giveth [the sun] to drink."

●[415] And the captor thereupon took the blood of his captive into a green bowl with a feathered rim. The sacrificing priests came to pour it there. In it went the hollow cane, which also had feathers. And then the captor departed with it so that he might nourish the demons. He went into and came out of all [shrines]; he omitted none; he forgot not the priests' dwellings in the tribal temples. On the lips of the stone images he placed the blood of his captive, giving them nourishment with the hollow cane. He went in festive attire.[22]

X 796 266 And when he had gone to and reached all the places, then he took the insignia to the palace, and he caused his captive to be taken to the tribal quarters, where they had passed the night in vigil; here he flayed him. Afterwards he had [the flayed body] taken to his house, where they cut it up, that it might be eaten and shared, and, as was said, to bestow as a favor to others.[23] It hath been told elsewhere how this was done.

And the captor might not eat the flesh of his captive. He said: "Shall I, then, eat my own flesh?" For when he took [the captive], he had said: "He is as my beloved son." And the captive had said:

soctle conmochichicaltia, aocmo oalmocuetzna, aocmo oalnaoci, çan njman iolmjqui, çotlaoa, chapantiuetzi, momiccatlaça: quinequj, macuelich yhiiotl onquiça, macuelich conjhiiouj, macuelich ompoliuj, macuelich coomotlaxili, yn jmjquiztequjuh.

Auh njman ic quicuitiuetzi, cā antiquiça, ca quetztimaiauj, cā querritteca, itenco in tenalacatl:

auh njman iquac oiauh yn Iocallaoan, totec ipan quizziuitz coneltetequj, conanjlia yn iiollo, conjaujlia in tonatiuh, quauhxicalco contlalia in tlamacaztque: yoan oc no ce tlacatl tlamacaztequj, conitqui, quappiztli, ielpan contlquetza yn malli, yn vncan ocatca yiollo, conezçotia, vel eztitlan conpolactia: njman no ic conjaujlia in tonatiuh, mitoa, ic catlitia.

Auh yn tlamanj njman ic conquj yn iezço ymal, zoxoujc xicalli, tlatenpotoonilli, vncan qujoaltequjlia, in tlamictique, ipan icatiuh piaztli no tlapotonilli. Auh njman ic vncā eoa in quintlatlaqualia diablome, noujian neinj, izqujcan quiça acan quimocauja, acan quixcaoa in calmecac, calpulco: in teme tiziptlaoan, intenco quimontlatlalilia yn jeaço malli, piaztica quimonpaloltitiuh, tlaujcetinemj.

Auh yn onoviiampaneh, yn onoujampa aaciso, njman concaoa in tlauiztli tecpa: auh yn jmal vncan quioalujqujlia in calpulco, yn vncan oquixoçaujque cenoal: vncan quixipeoa, çatepan concaujlaia yn ichan vmpa quitequj, ynjc qualoz, ynjc tetoxaltilez: yoan mjtoaia tetexhtilez, yn oiuh mito cenj, çan ie no iuh muchiuaia.

Auh in male, amo uel quijquaia, yn jnacaio imal, quitoaia, cujx çan no ne ynoquaz: ca yn iquac cacj,

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23. "Yo soluzco, de cada lanzo" (corresponding Spanish text).
22. "Van compuesto con sus plumajes, y de fiesta con todos" (ibid.).
23. Tetexhtilez: Siméon (Diccion Náhuatl, p. 72, s. 1) holds, of tetexhtilez, that it is derived from texcalli, engrisement to scratch; texcal is equivalent to scratch or scratch. Hence the meaning, to appreciate as a favor.

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And when he had hung it up, he summoned [his friends and his kin] to a feast. All ate and drank; the old men and the old women drank wine.

And another man was then decked in the captor's attire, and, in jest, leapt about. [And] the old men of the tribal temple sang for him.

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And he offered white wine in a round gourd, and he threatened it.

Afterwards, in like manner, he shot it with an arrow, and then drank it.

And when he had thus drunk, he had it taken elsewhere, and did similarly; then he did likewise in a third place, and in a fourth place.

Here they finished, when he had done similarly in all places. This was done all in one day.

But song did not cease in the song house[15] until it came to end in [the feast of] Uey toçoztli.

Auh yn jquac tlaccpilloa, tecoanocuaia, tlatlaqualo, atlioa, in ueuetque, ylamaxtitain, tlacaca.

Auh no ce tlacatl ic mochichioa, yn jtlauiz tlamanj hasuja, chocholoa. motelimana, qujcujcatiooque calpulcuetque.

Auh izqujtecontica qujmana tiçaoctli, contlachichecalhuja:

çatepan iuhqujoma conmjna, njman ic cocj:

auh yn oconjc, ie no cecnj conixquanjlia, çan no iuh conchioa, çan ie no iuh qujchioa, ynjc ezcan, çan no yuj, ynic nauhcan:

vncan ontlamj iça ieh no iuh qujchioaia yn izqujtlamantli: ça uel cemilhujtl, in muchioaia.

Auh in cujcatl, amo mocaoaia in cujcacali, izqujchica tlamjtiuh, yn ipan vey Toçoztli.

15. See Plates 19 and 20.

And when this was done, then he scattered incense. And when he had scattered it, then they gave him his mist rattle board, and he rattled it, he shook it, he raised it as an offering [to the god].

And when they finished, then all departed, [the crowd] broke up, all dispersed and scattered, each one going to his priests' dwelling. [But] the novice priests, them they only took to their houses.

And when they had entered the priests' dwellings, then all put off [their adornments], and sat in order.

And at night, thereupon began and took place a feast, on the top of the Temple of Tlaloc.

The horizontal drum was beaten, flutes were played, conch shells and reed pipes were blown. There was song. The horizontal drums croaked, growled, and droned, and rattles were rattled.

They caused those who were to be slain, the likenesses of the rain gods, to spend the night in vigil.

And when midnight came, when night divided in half, then began the slaying. First to be slain were the captives. They became as the fundament [of those who followed]. And when [these] died, thereupon died [the impersonators of] the rain gods.

Then also [was the time] when they burned all the paper offerings, and the quetzal feathers, and various [other] precious feathers; and some of the green stones—well-formed, those which were in no way blemished, which had no defects, as well as some of the green stones which were rough and brown, or dark.

And when they slashed open the breasts [of the victims], when they opened the breast of one of them, they seized his heart; they placed it in a vessel, painted blue, named the cloud vessel, which was painted with liquid rubber on four sides. And it was decked with paper dotted with drops of liquid rubber, with much rubber,—full of rubber.

Thus they did to all the impersonators, and they cast all their hearts there [into the cloud vessel].

And when this was done, at midnight, when they were slain, all the bystanders, who were watching, all had in their hands their wormwood flowers.[22] They walked thrusting [them], hanging with them to and fro, and fanning their children [with them]. It was said that thus they frightened away the worms, that their [children's] eyes might not become wormy. Some put [the flowers] in their ears. Some just walked carrying them gathered in their hands.

Auh in ic iuhquj, njman conтepeoa yn jiauhtli: auh yn oconтepeuh, njman conmaca yn xiochicaoztli, conocacalatza, conujujxoa, coniyiaoa.

Auh ỹ ontzonquiz, njman ic viujlooa, cecenmanoa, momoiaooa, xitinooa, viuj yn jncacalmecac: auh yn tlamaxtotoa, çan qujnujujca yn inchachan.

Auh yn onmeroto calmecac, mec nexixitinjlo, netlatlalilo:

auh yn oniooac njman ic ic peoa, in tlalhujmanj, in teycalticpac tlalocan:

teponaçolo, tlapitzalo, ithoatl in mopitza tecciztli, yoan acatecciztli: cujco, yn teponaztli, mjmjlcatoc, nanalcatoc, iuhqujn qujqujnacatoc, yoan xiacacholo:

qujntoçauja in miquizque yn imixiptlacan tlaloque.

Auh yn oncic ioalnepantla yn iquac xeliuj ioalli: mec peoa in micoa, iacattiuj in mamaltin miquj: iuhqujn inpepechoan muchioa: auh yn onmjcoque, njman ic ic miq' in tlaloque:

njman no yquac tlatla, yn izqujch nextlaoalli amatl, yoan in quetzalli, yoan in nepapan tlaçoihujtl: yoan cequj chalchiujtl yn jcuic, yn atle itlaciuia, yn amo tlaciujco: yoan cequj olchalchiujtl, iuiuhquj, iuactic, xnoço yiuhtic.

Auh yn iquac qujmeltetequj, in ce oapeti yiechiqujuh, conanjlia yn iiollo, contlaliuj coexic, tlatzoujlli motecaiotia, mixconjtl, nauhcampa in tlavixoalli: auh yn itlaquen amatl tlavichipinilli, cenca vllo moca vlli:

[415]

nuch iuh qujchioa yn inqujxtia teixiptlaoan, nuch vmpa contlattimanj yn jniollo.

Auh yn iquac muchioa ioalnepantla, yujc mjcoa: yn inqujchtin tlatlatzaque, in tlatlachia, nuchi imiiztauhiomochioh, inmac totomiocnj, qujtlatlaujtzitzinj, aujc qujtlattiocnj, ic mdcapeujtiocnj, yn inpilhoã, qujmach ic quiçpujaia in ocujtli, yuic amo yxocujlloaque: cequjcoia in nacazitlan caquja, cequja çan qujxaxaquiztiocnj.

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22. Artemisia ludoviciana Nuttall is commonly an oak weed, according to Báez, Cultural Works, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 78.

3: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Astec NU7

And all the common folk who looked on
All car-

ried flowers—artimisia[14]—and some carried wormwood flowers.

And when this was done, they bore [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl to the summit of the Temple of Tlaloc. And they took up the captives, who were to be as a fundament [for her]—those who would be her companions, her fellows in death; who were to be first, who would die [first].

And when they had taken them up to the Temple of Tlaloc, then were slain as sacrifices the captives. And after they had slain the captives, only [then] Uixtociuatl['s impersonator] followed; she came only at the last. They came to the end and finished only with her.

And when this was done, thereupon they laid her down upon the offering stone. They stretched her out upon her back. They laid hold of her; they pulled and stretched out her arms and legs, bending [up] her breast greatly, bending [down] her back, and stretching down her head taut, toward the earth. And they bore down upon her neck with the tightly pressed snout of a sword fish,[15] barbed, spiny; spined on either side.

And the slayer stood there; he stood up. Thereupon he cut open her breast.

And when he opened her breast, the blood gushed up high; it welled up far as it poured forth, as it boiled up.

And when this was done, then he raised her heart as an offering[16] [to the god] and placed it in the green jar, which was called the green stone jar.

And as this was done, loudly were the trumpets blown. And when it was over, then they lowered the body and the heart of [the likeness of] Uixtociuatl, covered by a precious mantle.

And this came to pass in the early dawn. And when they were finished, when it was done, when they were through, all the people dispersed and went, scattered, and betook themselves to their houses. Those who had provided the feast, carried out and celebrated it; a feast was celebrated. They banqueted one another and accepted summons to banquets.

And the old women and the old men, those who

chintin itzmochiuh incocempoalnochiuh: yoan cequjntin ymiitztauhiaxochiuh.

Auh in ie iuhquj mec qujtlecauja in Vitzocioatl, yn icpac tlaloc: yoan qujntlecauja in mamalti, in iuhqujma ypepechoan, in q'nmopechitiaz, in qujnmoujcaltiz, yn imiquiztzujcalhoan, yn iacatiaxque miquizque.

Auh yn oq'ntlecaujque tlalocan, mec temictilo in mamalti: auh yn onmjcque mamalti, ça ontlatoquja in Vitzocioatl, ça ontlatzacuja, ça ontlatzacutiuh, ça ontetzacutiuh, ça tlatzinpachotiuh.

Auh yn ie iuhquj, njman ie ic conteca in techcac, conaquetzticteca, caanjlia, qujcitilinjlia, yn jma, yn jcxi, cenca uel quelcuclua, qujcujtlachicuclua: auh yn itzonteco, ynjc qujtilinjliaia, cẽca tlaltitech qujujcaia: auh ynic qujquechpachoa, acipaqujtli itlaujtequja, chichiquiltic, tzitziquiltic, viuitztic, necoc campa in ujujztic.

Auh in tlamjcti, ça yc icac, omach ic moquetz, njman ie ic quelitequj:

auh yn ompet yielchiquiuh, yn ezli oalmopiiaxquetza, veca in onmopiaços, iuhquin momoloca, iuhquin pipica, iuhquin popoçoca.

Auh in ie iuhquj, mec conanjlia yn iiollo, contlalia xontujc xicalco: qujtocaiotiaia chalchiuhxicalli.

Auh yn iquac nuchioa y, cenca tlapitzalo: auh in ie iuhquj mec: qujoaltemouja yn jnacaio, yoan yn iiollo Vitzocioatl, tlatlapachiuhtiujtz tlaçotilmatica.

Auh ynin nuchiuaia, çan ioaztinco: auh yn oncaquiz, yie iuhquj yn onecacaoaloc, njman ic viujloa, cecẽmanoa, viujloa in techachan, yn jlhujoaque, hiylhujchioa, hiilhujdamati, ilhujtla, hiilhujtla, iilhujtlamacho, ilvichioalo, mococoanotza, motlatlacamati:

yoan yn jlamaque in veuetque, yn intlaca yn

15. See pp. 98, 102, 110. Sheldon and Jourdanet, in their translations of Sahagún, p. 64, n. 1, translate *espada-dulcidá* as *Tagarus ensis*; Saint Jour. cit., p. 1247 has *Tagarus sp.*; in Collected Works, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 78, *Tagarus ensis*.

Of this flower, Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 271) writes: *Estas flores se llaman estrujadoldidá, esta cuentillas y de hasta ahí, y cuelgan y barrancan, que ahí se traen, y estas que las derraman en las huestes; esto de dos maneras, unas que llaman hombres estrujadoldidá y unas grandes y barrancan, y estas que hay las llaman mujeres estrujadoldidá (y) es una tan barrancan al un grandes.*" Dorán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 174) refers to them as "*unas pedrezuelas de hasta cuentillas estrujan.*"

16. "*Después sobre lo susodicho no pudo redimir, el qual tenían dos, apuntándole; para que no pudiese dar voces, el tiempo que le sacaban los pechos. Estos dicen que este era en señal de sacrificio, que se ve por muchos, que dicen en señal, cuando sacrifican en el cuerpo, que hacen colmillos, de cuchillo grande; este era la apariencia de sacrificio*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). See Bustamante ed., Vol. III, p. 197, for description.

17. Cf. corresponding Spanish. We have an irregularity somewhere.

Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of the feast and the sacrifices which they made upon the days of the eighth month, which was called Uei tecuilhuitl.[1]

Eighth feast: this [was] the Great Feast of the Lords.

And before the celebration had yet begun, first all feasted. A multitude came together—the poor of Mexico. And those who tilled the fields, at dawn all drank only this [drink of] lime-leaved sage powdered and mixed with water, [which] was mixed in a canoe and sweetened with honey. And it was drunk from a vessel called *xicpanquj*. Each had a vessel for drinking, from which he drank. Each used his vessel, and some filled their vessels twice. All came and consumed [the drink]; none refrained—children, old women, small boys, small girls, everyone.

And of those who could no longer taste or put mouth and lips to it, some placed it in their [own] vessels and gourds; here they kept what remained to them. And any who came unprovided with a vessel, a plate, or a jar, just carried the maize gruel in their aprons; they carried it away in their aprons. None took [any] without leave; none returned again [to take] *atolli*.

And if any returned again [to take] *atolli* dishonestly, if once more [any] tried to approach [the canoe with *atolli*], then they set upon him with green canes; they whacked him sorely.

And thereafter, when all had drunk, all rested a while, all lay down, forming a circle together. All talked, with much murmuring and rustling, like birds twittering. And others who had saved *atolli* for themselves, later drank it; little by little, they kept giving it to their small children to drink.

And when noon came, when it was time to eat, then once more all sat spread out, in order, arranged in order, all with capes outspread. The small children were taken by the hand; they were borne upon their backs.

And when all sat about, then those girded their loins and bound their hair with reed blades who

Juic ceppoalli on chicume capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl yoan in nenttlaoalirtli, in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujlhujtl. 796[X]

Inic chicuetetl ilhujtl: ichoatl in vei tecujlhujtl.

Auh yn iiamo onazico ilhujtl, achtopa tlatlaqualoa: izquich tlacatl cenquiçaia, in motolinja in mexica, yoan in millacaztizzinti, in ioatzinco çan oc tlayoa, ichoatl in chian pinolli, mopatlaia acalco, quinecpanja. Auh ynic tlayoa caxitl, motocaiotia tiçapanquj: cecen caxitl yn ioa, in quj: cecen cazoa auh in cequjntin, ooncazoa, cenvetzi, ontetlamj, aiac mocaoa in pipiltzitzinti, in jlamatzitzin, in oquichpipiltotonti, in cioapipiltotonti, in ie izquich tlacatl. [272] [415]

Auh in aquin, aocmo vel qujiecoa, in aocmo qujcamaaci, in aocmo qujtenaci, motlacavia: cequjntin qujvivica in incocon cequjntin inxixical in vncan qujteca innetlacavil: auh in aca atle ioã monemachti, in atle icon, in atle icaz; ça qujcuexanoa, concuexanaltia, in atolli, aiac motlapiquja, aiac matolixcuepa:

auh intlaca matolixcuepa, in oc ceppa tetlan calaquiznequj, vmpa qujvivitequj xaxamoubquj ica, qujtlatlazvitequj.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlaioac, oc achitonca nenenevilo, çã vncan onoac, nenololoio, nenecõtlalilo, nenonotzalo, iuhquin tlacuecuitimanj, iuhquin tlatlacaoca, iuhquin tlachachalaca: auh in oc cequjntin, in oquimocavica atolli, quin ica vel qujtoque, yiolic qujmjiitoque in inpilhouantzitzin.

Auh in oacic nepanola tonatiuh, in jquac tlaqualizpan, ie no ceppa vel netenco, nenivipanolo, nenecenpanalo, netenepano, nenecuentililo: in pipiltzitzinti tematitech tenano, tenamomalo. 796[X] 264

Auh ino nenetenoc mec mocujcujtlalpia, yoan mocuecuelçia tolica: in tequjquac, in tlacuezmoaque,

1. "Fiesta grande de los Señores," according to Garibay ("Historia breve," p. 201); "the 'great Harvest-feast,'" according to Soler (*Boletín Mexicano*, p. 188).

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

delos cantares

delos dioses. fo. 143. 532 415 534 292

Cochua, cochia, auh in nican oclonian, iacchiuh: machiuay ico, oaico yhe, yia, ya.

q Xippe icuic. totec ixualla vana.

Ixalli tlauana, ixtlilian, timoz nequia xiuiqui mylatia tiuaz haquenih, xiuiqueni quetzalia.

Notzuhua chalchiuhmana tlaca pana itemoia, oiquechallauelcat, ayquechel xiuiqui nechtaiquia cauhquel onjia.

Maniauia, njia, njia pelnis niualtzin, achalcuuhtla xoiollo, atecuiuhtal necaiauhtas xoiolco xisquihtacat achtequel tlaquauaia, atlacatqui iauhtatacquel onjia.

Notzuhua cuitlaxo xoiallixis co noa yiualtzin nictepeiocpa mjs ualitz motzuhua, xisquihtacatl achtequel tlaquauaia, cha catqui iauhtatacquel onjia.

q Chicomecoatl icuic.

Chicomolxin, xoiomochan,

Page from *Florentine Codex* (Appendix: Song of Xipe)

[p. 102 c]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

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—After Paso y Troncoso

8-12. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 22)
13-14. Uei tecuilli (Chapter 23)

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

30. Ochpanizli (Chapter 30)
31-32. Panquetzaliztli (Chapter 34)
33. Titiil (Chpter 36)
34. Izcalli (Chapter 37)
35-36. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)

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—After Paso y Troncoso

37-44. Izcaçuhqui (Chapter 38)

[p. 102 I]

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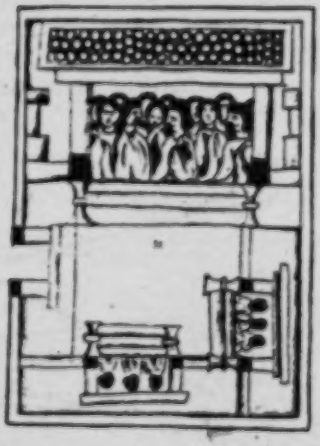

48-49. Izcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Mecuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102 J]

1796 TB And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

X 796 And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red urraca feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with white clay; they had paper breech cloths and paper shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

[302] After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. [413] And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

● [415] After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

auh in ic iuhquj onmoquetzitivtzi, vel tecujvj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoā conanj: in ic ihuqui, njmā ic ic qujtemma: mochi ,ichouel in teolelli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omotetzo, njman ic ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ic ic viviloa, cacalaoa, cactivetzi, cactimomaca.

Auh njman ic ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlaque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjztlapalhuja, in quimama tlavitli, papaleel: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoā in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhiccitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncā chimalpan icujlinhtica, hiviticа: ic motenoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

ic mjztotitivi, momaliuhtitivi, momamātivi: ic vmpatitivi īn mamalti in motlepantlaçanque, no mjztotivi, quintiçavia, inmammaxtli, imamancapanal, njmā ic imamatzon, quinquapotonja; injvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjztentlicomoloa.

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmā ic ic mocacaoa, quinocalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, quinpia in immalhoan.

Auh in pena in quintequivia, ic tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetocavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

in ic iuhquj, njmān ic ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: quintzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquj ton intzō in mamalti, quintequilia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica quicujtlalpia, axtatl itech ca, vme, matzatic: auh in jtztli inje quintequja intzon: quintocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

in ic iuhquj in oconcujque, njmā ic cōtzma petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, quivica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipilou, ic monextia in

7. Literally, bone. Bird [broken, however, renders compound as this.
8. The context suggests a distinction between [illegible] and captives.

house and hung it high, that thus it might be shown that he had taken captives; that thus his manly exploits might be boasted. Always it hung from the roofing of the house, from the roof beams. It never came down until the time that he died.

And when they had cut [the captives'] hair, the owners of the captives slept but little. They guarded and watched them well; [for] it was their duty, their office, [to guard] lest those who were to be cast into the fire should flee.

And on the morrow, at dawn, thereupon they ranged [the captives] before the skull frame. And as they stood in order, then a man [priest] took off and pulled off the backs of [these] others their banners and their paper adornments—also perchance their wretched little cloaks—and placed them in the eagle vessel, where they burned.

Thereupon, of all the captives, who followed, they continued to place their banners and their little cloaks [in the fire]; there they all burned up. For now at last they were indeed to depart forever from the earth; futilely they stood in order. They awaited the end, for in truth now their hour had come.

And here they awaited Painal,[9] the envoy of Uitzilopochtli. And when Painal came, thereupon he ascended to the place where men were sacrificed,[10] where the unhappy captives were to suffer. And then, no sooner had Painal come than he then descended [from the pyramid]; a man [priest] brought him down, carrying him down under one arm. He who brought him down was called his father, or his elder brother. And when he descended, he came before and into the presence of the captives.

A second time Painal quickly went up. And a captor stood there, awaiting him. Then the captor seized [the captive] by the head,[11] grasping in his hand[12] [the hair of] the crown of his head. Then he went off leading him; and when they reached the foot of the pyramid steps,[13] there [the captor] left the captive.

Then those who cast men into the fire descended and came to seize him. First they threw incense in his face; then they bound his wrists, bringing his hands behind his back, and they bound his ankles.

ca tlamanj, ic mocujchiua, muchipa pilcac calqua-, itech in calquavitl, aic oaltemo izquich cavitl in mjqujz:

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auh in oertzuncujoac oc achi concochi, in maleque: vel qujmpia, vel qujmjxpia, vel imjx intequjuh, in nu choluti in nootlepantlaçanque.

Auh in otlatvic, in otlatlalchipaoac, njmā ic ic qujmecpana, tzompātli ixpan: auh in ie tecpantimani, njman çe tlacatl compeoaltia, qujmonpeoaltia, qujmonxiuçilinja in oc cequjxti: in jpan yoan in jamatlaquj, yoan in aço itilmaçoltzin contlalia quauhxicalco, vncan tlatla.

[415]

njman ie ic mochintin ōuitimanj, onmotocatimanj in mamalti, contlalitimanj in impan, yoan in intilmatzitzi, vncan centlatla, ca ie iccen cōcaoazque in tlalticpactli, çaçan ie vncā tecpantimanj, qujchiztimanj in immjxqujx, ca nel ie otlaimmātic:

auh vncā qujchiztimanj in Painal, in jxjptla vitzilobuchtli. Auh in jquac oncico Painal: njman ic ic tloco in tlacaceuhcan, in vncan tlacotiaque, mamaltzitzinti: auh in ie iuhequj: çan tequjtl onaci in Painal, njmā ie ic oalteno: çan ce tlacatl in qujoaltemovia, qujciacavitivitza: inin qujoaltemovia, motzeneoa jta, anoço ixch. Auh in oualtemoc: imjxpan oalqujça, imjztlan oalqujça in mamalti:

[778]

ie no ceppa tlecotivetzi in Painal. Auh in tlamanj, ça iqujcac, qujchitticac: njmā ie icpac conana in tlamanj, amatica in cōtzizquja, in jquaxiolloço: njmā ie ic qujvicatinh; in oc xixiito in apetlac, vncā quçaoa in malli:

njmā ie ic oalteno, in tetlepantlaque, qujoalana: achtopa, qujtiiuhtelinja, çatepan quimailpia, icampa qujvivizquilia in jma, yoan qujcailpia:

9. It is to be understood that Painal was an image carried by a priest who, in this passage and those following, climbed up and down the steps carrying the image.

10. In both Tolosanus and Spanish editions, and in Seler (op. cit., p. 160), the spelling is *chiconcuaco* ("los hombres quitando cuentas," according to Seler). The context appears to favor *chiquacuhco*. Cf. corresponding Spanish version in the Tolosanus ed., and discussion in Bibl. Mexicana, op. cit.

11. More correctly in Seler, op. cit., p. 167, n. 1, 2.

12. On *apetlac*, see p. 67, n. 18. Sahagún (Bustamante ed., Vol. I, p. 191, and Vol. II, p. 301) writes of "*el cuahichcuaco del* or *que se llamaba apetlac, que se dende arriba cortaua los cauellos*," and "*los grandes sacaua . . . dende arriba la mano y apetlac del* or."

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech clout, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

yoan imaxtli, yoā in quexquj itlaçevil, yoā iuuc̄ mochi qujtlatia.

And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her cane stalks, her batten, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Auh in cioatl, mochi qujtlatia in jxqujch icioxilaquj: in jtana in jmalac, in jōçauh, in·jtzaoalcax, in jtzatzax, in jotlauh, in jtzotzopax, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, incanaia, yoā itzopaia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquatzon, ixiouh, yoan yioctacauh: mochi qujtlatia inoma.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

Injc iuh qujchioa y, qujlmach vmpa intech monequjz in vmpa iazque, in jquac mjquja vmpa qujoalchiaz.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

Auh in otlatviz, mec tecc̄acoalo, techichioalo, qujmonaaquja in amatlatqujtl, in jpan mjqujxque: in oquimōchichiuhque, mec tevico in vmpa mjqujxque, qujavica in teanque, vmentin qujntlecavizque, in macana çotlaoa, qujntzitzqujxque: yoā vmēin tetemovjzque, in qujnoaltemovizque, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in qujvicatiuh panjtl: yoan vmentin, teixamjque cioa: çan muchivi in qujnvivica, cecenme tlaaltilti.

And when they had brought them [there], four captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

Auh in oquimaxitique: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apetlac in qujmjilpilia imjcxi yoā inma:

7. These weaving implements have been extensively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Bertha P. Dutton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Pozo y Troncoso.

Thirty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feasts and the ceremonies which they observed in the days of the sixteenth month, which was called Atemoztli.

The sixteenth feast was called "The Falling of the Water."[1]

As for naming it "The Falling of the Water," it was when for the first time threatened, rumbled, and thundered the rains. All the common folk said, "Water cometh down"; or, "The Tlaloca descend."

And when this happened, the fire priest at the Temple of Tlaloc went [about his tasks] very soberly, devoutly, in faith and hope that in its time the rain would threaten.

And when the rain threatened, then he forthwith arose and took up his incense ladle, the stem of which was long and rounded, and it rattled. The incense ladle ended [in the form of] a serpent. And the head of the serpent also rattled; it also [was] hollow.

Then he speedily fanned the coals into a flame. Then he swiftly filled it with incense, doing only this. Then he offered incense, raising the ladle as an offering to the four directions, rattling [the ladle] greatly, to and fro. Then he went to all the courtyards of the temples, offering and burning incense everywhere. Thus he besought and called upon the Tlaloca. Thus he prayed for rain.

And a number of the common folk made vows that they would make figures of the mountain [gods].[2] And five days [before the feast], they arranged and bought paper, and liquid rubber, and obsidian knives, and they bought *maguey* fiber.

They paid great honors [to the mountain gods], and did penances that they might make the figures and cover them [with paper]. No soap was used in bathing; only their necks did they wash.[3] Neither might [a man] lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

And until dawn of the day of the feast, when the twenty days of Atemoztli were completed, all the

Inic cempoalli on cxtolli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in jlhujtl, yoan in tlamaviztililiztli, in quichioaia in jpan ic cemjlhujtl ic cxtolteti occe metztli in motenoa Atemuztli. 796^

Injc cxtolteti, occe ilhujtl ichoatl in motenoa Atemuztli:

injc motenoa Atemuztli, ca iquac iancujcan oalanj, oaoalaca, titicujca in qujavitl: qujtoaia in jxquich maceoalli, atemo, anoço temo in tlaloque.

Auh in jquac y, in tlalocan tlenamacac, cenca tlaocuxtica, tlateumattica, muchiacaca, motemachitica: in quenmā oalanjx qujavitl:

auh in oalan qujavitl, njmā ic moquetztiquiça, [445]
qujcujtivetzi in jdema, vel hujtlatztic, çan pitzaton in jquauhio, cacalaca in tlemaitl, coatl ipan quiça: auh in jtzontecon coatl no cacalaca, no iollo:

njmā quixopilotivetzi in tlexochtli, in tletl njman contentivetzi in jiauhtli, ça mjxcavia: mec tlenamaca, naubcampa in conjaoa, cenca cacalaca, ixaoaca, ichaiaca: mec iauh novian nemj, novian quiça in teujtoalco, novian tlenamaca, novian tlatotonja, ic tlatemachia, ic qujnotza in tlaloque, ic qujauhtlatlanj. [823]

Auh in cequjntin maceoalti, monetoltiaia injc tepiquixque: auh macujltica in amatemaia, in amacoaia, [314 269]
yoan olli, yoa itztli, yoan ichtli in qujcoaia:

cenca qujmaviztiliaia, yoan qujneçaviliaia injc tepiquixque, yoā tequentizque: amo mamoviaia injc- [515]
maltiaia, çan moquechaltiaia, amono cioacochia: auh [834]
in cioatl amono oquichcochia.

Auh in ie iuh oallatvi ilhujtl, in jquac tlacempoalti Atemuztli, iuh cecoal in nemoa, vel neixpololo, in

1. "*Tepiolo de el Agua*," according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 297), "*porque este Mes suele llover, y nacer algunos Arboles.*" Ordhoy, (*op. cit.*, p. 312) has the same.
Concerning the term Atemoztli, Tovar refers to frequent, extraordinary drizzles in the region, attributed to Tlaloc.—Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
2. The Palacio MS (Ordhoy, *loc. cit.*) places this in the lacuna of the text: "*se concertauan de hacer ymagenes de montes que dezian eran (Tzoquitlaton).*"
3. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

X 796 night was spent and used in cutting lengths of paper, that they might complete and finish the spotted paper banners. And when they were finished and completed, they were joined to poles; [the papers] reached from the bottoms to the tops of the poles. They set them up in the middle of each courtyard. There they remained for the entire feast day.

X 796 778 And the producers of figures of the mountain [gods] beforehand feasted the priests, so that these would make for them the paper adornment of the small mountain gods. And only there in the priests' dwelling did they array them.

And when all [the adornment] had been finished, they then took them to the homes of those who had vowed to make the figures; and their instruments, [which] went forth [with them, were] their two-toned wooden drums, and their gourd rattles, and their turtle shell drums. And they adorned the figures of the mountains, offered them food, and dressed them in capes.

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And one who produced the figures [made] perhaps five, another [made] perchance ten, another perhaps fifteen. And the [figures] which they adorned were all [made] purely of a dough of amaranth seed.

And they fashioned them as figures of these mountains—Popocatepetl, Iztac tepetl or Iztac ciuatl, Tlaloc, Yoaltecatl, Quauhtepetl, Cocotl, Yiauhqueme, Tepetzintli, Tepepolli, [and] Uixachtecatl; and also [mountains of the god of] fire, Chicome coatl, Chalchiuhtli icue, and Ecatl.[4]

And when they had completely adorned them, then they set food before them—each one separately. And their *tamales* were exceedingly small, exceedingly tiny, very long and very thin. And they heaped them in small wooden vessels and sauce bowls; and their small earthen vessels contained a very small [quantity of] chocolate.

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And four times that night they made offerings of food. And before them lay two green jars; wine was [in them]. And the green jars were made of these green gourds.[5] They split them, and took out their seeds; they removed the seeds, And they took out the pith, which was like a cord. Here they placed the gourd wine.[6] Thus all night they sang for [the

[415 273 824]

amaxotlalo: in tlanj, in iecavi tetevitl: auh in otlan, in oiecauh, matlaquauhtitech movivipana, tlahtitech peuhticac, onaciticac in jtzonco; itoalnepantla in quj-quequetza, vel oncā cemjlhujtia:

auh in tepicque achtopa quinmolcaoltiaia in tla-macazque, iojc quinchivilizque imamatlatquj, tepic-totō: auh çan vmpa in calmecac in quichichioaia.

Auh in omuchi iecauh, mec quitquitze in inchā tepiquinj, yoan intlatquj oalietiuh in inteponaz, yoā imaiacach yoan in jmaiouh, mec quinchichioa in tepicme quintlamamaca, quintlaquētia:

auh in aca quipiquja, aço m cuiltetl, in aca aço matlactetl, in aca aço caxtoltetl: auh in quichichioaia çan muche in tzoalli.

Auh in quinpiquja iehoantin in tetepe: in popo-catepetl, in iztactepetl, anoço iztac ciuatl, in tlaloc, in iooaltecatl, in quauhtepetl, in cocotl, yiauhqueme, in tepetzintli, in tepepolli, in vixachtecatl, no ie in tletl, in chicome coatl, chalchiuhtli icue, ecatl.

Auh in oquincencauhque, mec quintlamaca, ce-cecnj mjtcavia: auh in intamal cenca çan tepitoton, cenca çā achitoton, papatlachtotonti papatlachpipil: quauhcaxtotonco in quintetemjlia, yoā inmolcaxto-ton, yoan inçoquitecōtoton, çan no tepitoton cēcā achi in onaquj cacaoatl:

auh nappa in quintlamaca ceioal, yoan imjxpan manj vntetl chalchiuhtecomatl vctli oncaca: auh in chalchiuhtecomatl muchioa, iehoatl in tzilacaiotli, xoxoctic, quintlapanaia, quioalquintilia in jaiovachio, quioalaiocoachquixtia: yoan quioalquixtilia in jcuj-tlaxcol, in juhquj mecatl, vncan conteca in aioctli,

4. These are located in the chapter on Ad omnia. See p. 43. Tepetzintli and Tepepolli probably are the Tepetzintzo and Tepepulco named in that chapter.

5. *Cucurbita ficifolia Bouché* (Sahagun: *op. cit.*, p. 221).

6. Cf. Sahagun (*loc. cit.*)—*Kūtzicuitzo* (*atezcatl*). *Atezcatl*, however, is defined (Rémi Simēon *op. cit.*) as a mixture of honey and water.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the bidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

iuh ceiçal in qujncujcatia, qujntoçavia, yoan qujntlapichilia, qujnvilacapitzalhuja. 796X 778

Auh in tlapitzaia amo iehoan in tequjppaneque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacoia, tlaiiloia.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatvic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmā ie ic qujmonaqujlia in iollopan. [284]

Auh in oconaqujli, njmā ic qujoalquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec conanjlia in jiollo muchioa, qujoalmaca in tepiqujnj, xonovic xicalco, in qujoallalilia:

auh in ie iuhquj in oqujmōnjctique tzoalti: njmā ie ic qujncenqujxtia, qujtecpichoa, in jxqujch imamatlatquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cōtlecavia, yoan in incacaxxototon, in quauhcaxxototonti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxqujxh aztapilpetlatl in jpan onoca, yoan oztopilqr vitl, yoan in jxqujch in tlaquaia in caxtolonti yoan in chalchiuhtecomatl nuch vmpa concaoa in xiuhcalco.

In ie vi qujcaoaque, njmā ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacoanotzalti, in tepictlaquaque: mec tetlamaco, cecenj, neiacavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmā ie ic qujnmaca in vetli. 796X

auh in cioa no calaquj, motemeoa ontamalcaoa, aiac çan juh iuh, muchi tlacatl itlaol qujxqujxiuh in cioa qujcuecuexanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in qujtquj, aço cxntololotl, anoço tlamjc.

Auh in omotecaque, in omotlalique, mec qujntlamaca tetlamaco: njmā no qujmaca in vetli, qujntlaōitia, qujnoalmanj[illegible]a tlilpantica in vetli, yoā qujoalmana in tetlooan, in tlaoanooj, in tlaoīcxxitl, çan no tlilic. [273 416]

Auh in jquac concaoa teteviā, in nextlaoalli cōma- [202]

7. The Pedro Nō version differs (Quiñey, *op. cit.*, p. 314): "*tampoco quitzonchichinaoaya los de tzonpanco chiel*"—"despues los despedidos los trasponen como el cuchillo del palo." Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 284) thus describes it: "*clavadas por los pechos, como en Tzonpantli, que es en palo cuchio, con que sacan los bigotes, ó cuentan de cuentas, y cuchillos al cavajon, que tambien los sacan puestos, en la memoria de la cuenta, y cortandole los cabejos, como acostumbraban hacer á los Sacrificados, y guardandolos.*"

And for drinking wine [they used] very small drinking vessels. And all gave wine to drink to the small children.

Hence was named [the occasion] "The children all drink wine."

And at sundown this all ceased and all went to their homes. And when they had departed to their homes, once again there was dancing in their courtyards. And the kin [of those who celebrated] drank wine—the revered old men and old women.

Here ended Izcalli.

And for this reason was [the feast] named Izcalli (The Growing): at this time they lifted by the neck all the small children. It was said that thus they grasped them for growth; they grasped them for growth that they might quickly mature.

Enough. Here ended and concluded Izcalli.

Auh injc quja injc tlaoanaia, in tlaoancaxitl, çan tepiton, çã tetepiton: auh muchintin qujntlaoantiaia in pipiltotonti:
ie injc motenena, pillaoano.

Auh ie teutlac in necacaoaloia, viviloa in tochachan: auh in onviviloac techachan, ie no ceppa mjtotia in jmjtoaloc, muchintin tlatlaoana in tehoanioique, in veventzitzin, in jlamatzitzin.

Oncan tlamj in Jzcalli.

Auh injc moteneoa Jzcalli: vncã quinquechanaia in jzquichtin pipiltotonti: quilmach, ic quimizcalloana: quimjscalana, injc iciuhca quauhtiazque.

Ie izquich njcan tzonquiça, njcan tlamj in jlhujtl Jzcalli.

until the rosy dawn, when dawn would break and the morning would redden—when the swallow would sing.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all bestirred themselves, and ate and drank. Thereupon the old men of the tribal temple and the singers sat in the courtyard to sing for them. And they walked carrying the small children upon their backs. And [a child who was] a little larger his uncle and aunt came grasping by the hand. There they made him dance; they went through dance movements. And when the sun hung low, after noon, then all gathered at the Tezcacoac. Here the dance and song proceeded—the songs, in all, spreading a sound as of the crashing of waves.

And then began the giving of wine. Everyone carried his wine, and brought it there. Among themselves, all took it and offered it, in earthen jars—all continually giving [it to others], giving and taking in return. Here they gave the wine to all the small children—those who were grown and those yet lying in the cradle, moistening food [in the wine] for them. Verily, everyone already mature was drunk; in truth, all showed that they had drunk wine.

None showed awe [of the wine] as it foamed; none [thought it] precious as it gleamed. It fell to the ground; the wine ran like water.[1]

And they carried their drinking vessels, called *tzicuiltecomatl*, [which had] three legs and, on four sides, had handles.

With ruddy faces, crying out, short of breath, with glazed eyes, all mingled with one another; there were disputes; all circled and milled about. Becoming more intense, all crowded and pressed together, elbowing each other. All took one another by the hands; they were bemused. Embracing one another firmly, [thus] all entered their houses.

Thus one said: "The wine feast hath verily been observed; for the children have drunk wine."

And thus ended and concluded Izcalli. Then came to reign the Nemontemi—five days which had no day-names, which were no longer counted, which were not reckoned in the [day] count. Greatly were they feared and held in awe.

For they were ill-omened and of no use. Nothing was done [during those days]. They were ill-fated, of ill-fortune. For in them was no reward or merit—

1. Cf. Andrews and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

quenmanj tlatviz, in quenman tlatlavilotleoaz, in quenmā tlatox cujcujtzcatl. 796 X 852

Auh in otlatvic, njmā ie ic tlatlacivi, tlatlaqualo, axtlica: njmā ie ic motlalia in vevetque calpoleque, cujcanjme, in jtoalco in quijncujcatiaia, vncā qujnmamatinemj in pipiltotonti: auh in ie achi qualton imatitech cantinemj in jtla, yoan iavi, vncan qujtotia, tlaiiauhtinemj: auh in ie achi tlaca in vmmopilo tonatiuh, vncan oalcenquixtoa in tezcacoac: vncā mocenmana in netotiliztli, in cujqujztli, cepā caoantinomma, xxxamacatimanj in cujcatl: [535] [533]

Auh vncā peoa in nemaco, in temaco vetli, muchi tlacatl yioc vmpa qujtquj, vmpa qujvica, tetlan tlaano, apiloltica, vncan netech nemaco nepanotl nemamaco, necuecuepililo, necuecuepcaiotililo, vncan qujntlaoltia in jxquixchtin pipiltotonti in ie achi qualtoton, yoan in oc coçolco onoque, çan qujntlapaloltiaia, vel muchi tlacatl ivinti in ie veveitlaca, vel neixmanalo in tlaoano: 273 796 852

amo nemauhtilo, iuhqujn tlapopoçoca, amo tlaçutli iuhqujn tlapepetlaca, tlalpā aci, iuhqujn atl nemja vetli,

yoan intlaouncax qujtquja, itoca tzicujltecomatl: [415] ci icxi, nauhcampa nacace,

iuhqujn tlaichichiliui, iuhqujn tlaçomoca, iuhqujn tlacica, iuhqujn tlaixmetzivi, tlaixnelivi, neixnanamjco, tlaixmalacachivi, tlaixmoiaoa, iuhqujn nexoxocolo, nepopotzolo nequequeçalo, netotopeoalo nematitech nesano, neaanalo, nececenquetzalo, nececenmacho, nequechnaoalotiuh in cacalacoa techachan:

ic mjtoa ca nel ilhujo in vetli, ca pillaoano.

Auh injc ontzonquixa, injc ontlamj Izcalli: njmā oalmotlalia, oalmotema in Nemontemj: macujlilhujtl in aoctle itoca tonalli, in aocmo vmpovi, in aocmo vmpouhquj cenca imacaxoia, cenca mauhcaitoia: 777 796 805

ichica ca çan nēquixquj, vncā nenenquixtilo, atle vnquixnu, nenencolo, nenenencolo: ichica ca atle vncan ca ilhujlli, mācenalli, can vncan icnoioti, neto-

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

Here Is Told in What Manner the Mexicans Made Offerings, and What They Made as Offerings in Their Temples.

Offerings.

Thus were offerings made: with food and with capes were offerings made, and with all kinds of living things—perchance turkeys, perchance birds; or capes. Or else whatever was newly formed—perchance maize, or *chia*, or flowers, or whatever [was newly grown].

And thus did the young [unmarried] women make offerings: Before dawn their mothers and fathers awoke them. So they went about making offerings of gifts carried in the palms of their hands—little *tortillas*, [which were] very small,—and thus they quickly proceeded to lay gifts before the devil; in bowls they carried them thus to present them [to the gods].

Only in the houses were the *tortillas* made. Thus did the young women make [their] offerings.

The Offering of Incense.

And thus was the offering of incense performed, with an incense ladle. It was made of clay, with [stones in its hollows making] a rattle. Then they laid live coals in the incense ladle. When these blazed up, then they filled it with *copal* incense, and then came forth before the devil, or else in the middle of the courtyard, where arose the brazier. [This] was made of clay.

And when they came up to the devil, then they dedicated the incense burner to the four directions, thus offering incense. And when they had offered [incense] to the four directions, then they threw [the incense and the coals] into the brazier. Here the *copal* incense lay smoking.

And thus was it done: the mothers and fathers likewise at dawn awoke the children, [whether] men[-children] or women[-children]; that they might offer incense quickly, they awoke them; that

Nican motenecoa in quenjn tlamanaia, yoan in tlein ic tlamanaia yn jnteupan, in mexica.

Tlamanalitli.

Injc tlamanaloia: tlaqualtica, yoan tilmatican tlamanaloia, yoan yca in tlein ioioli: aço tototlin, anoço tototl, anoço tilmatli: anoço in tlein iancujcan muchioa, aço cintli, anoço chian, anoço suchitl, anoço in tlein.

Auh injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti: iooac in qujmjxtiaia intenanoan, intetaoan: injc qujmanativi ventlamapictli, in tlaxcaltzintli tepitoton, injc yciuhca qujmanativi ijxpan diablo: caxtica in qujtqoja ventli ic conmanaia:

çan inchan muchioaia in tlaxcalli, injc tlamanaia cioatzitzinti.

Tlenamaqujlitli.

Auh injc muchioaia tlenamaqujlitli, in jca tlemaitl: çoqujtl tlachichioalli, cacalachio, vncan contemaia in tlexuchtli in tlemaco: in oconxopiloque, njman ic contema copalli, yc oalquiça in ijxpan diablo: anoço in itoalnepantla, ic vncan ycac tlequaztli: çoqujtl tlachichioalli.

Auh in onmoquetzaco ijxpan diablo: njman nauhcampa qujiaoa in tlemajtl, ynjc tlapupuchvia: auh yn jquac onauhcampa conjiauh, ic njman contema in tlequanco, vncan popocatica in copalli.

Auh ynjc muchioaia: no yooatzinco in qujmjxtiaia in tepilhoan, in oquichtin, in anoço cioa qujmjxitiaia in tenanoan, in tetaoan ynjc tlenamacazque iciuhca

X 796 782

A True [Relation] of Still Other Offerings with Which Similarly They Paid Honor to the Devil.

Hanging [an Object] over the Breast.

Thus was done the hanging [of objects] over the breast; thus was the tying with loose cotton thread: they tied [them] about the wrists and the necks of small children and [suspended on the cords], in small bags, *tortillas* made of green maize. Here [in the *cal'palli*] they set forth these, on small jar-stands, and small earthen jars, and lifted the jars up by the ears, and with their hands went filling their bags with water. And when they had reached the twentieth day, when [it was the feast] known as Teotl eco, [that was] when they untied the feathered threads which they had about the small children.

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[For] Pain.

[308] And [for] pain, thus was done upon the feast of [the god] Acolmiztli: the small children were ornamented in feathers [applied to them]; in colored feathers, [set] everywhere on their bodies. And the old people similarly applied feathers on their stomachs, over their hearts, and upon their backs. Thus they set feathers upon them—so it was said—because then Acolmiztli would not bewitch them.

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The Setting Out of the Children.

Thus was done the setting out of the children. They took all of them there to the house of the devil, and had in truth all the children dance before them, and made them drunk. Hence it was called the setting out of the children; for they had them all appear in the house of the devil.

The Act of Striping.

Thus was done what was named the act of striping: when mock battle was joined, the shield and

Inuehuaca in oc cequj tlamamalintli in çan no ic quinnavintiliaia Diablo.

Neelpilintli.

Injc muchivaia neelpilintli, inic neelpiloia ica icpatl in quimjilpiaia papiltotonti in immaquechtlan, yoan in jnquechtlan yoan in jmjtac elotlaxcaltotonti in, vncan commanaia vacaltonco yoan tecôtontli, vacalnacatco conquetzaia tentiuh in atl in jma itac, auh in ïjc oacico ipan cempoalihujtl in iquac motteneva tetzu heco iquac quijtotamiliaia in jcpatl potonquj injc omoolpique papiltotôti.

„Necocololintli.

Auh in necocolintli ic muchivaia ipan ilhujuh acolmiztli mjhujcujcujlovaia in papiltotonti tlapalihujtica, novjian in jtech inacaio. Auh in veuejtlaca çâyio in jmelpan, in jniollopan yoan in jncujtlapan, quinamjctiaia in ihujtl, injc quinpotonjaia, quilmach ipampa inic amo teiolloquaz acolmiztli.

Pilquistilintli.

Injc muchivaia pilquistilintli vmpa muchintin quinvicaia in itzupan Diablo, in papiltotonti vel muchintin impan quimjtoryaia yoâ quintlavantiaia injc moteneva pilquistilo ca muchintin quinvalquistia in papiltotonti in Diablo ichan.

Tlavavanalintli.

Injc muchivaia in motenehoa tlavavanalintli in iquac malli moiauchivaia ichimal inaquauh imac

them. None should fail. And here, over them presided [the one named] Patecatl, who was made, as it were, their leader.

Then they arranged the rabbit [wine] jars. These they filled with [ceremonial] five[-fold] wine, which they also called sacred wine. Then he brought forth the sucking-tubes, made of reeds, and laid them with the sacred wine—two hundred and three of them, but only one was bored through.

And when they had set them out, thereupon all danced and went in procession; the Centzontotochtin danced.

Thereupon they went up to the sacred wine. There was much jostling about until one should see the [sucking tube which was] bored through. And when he who saw it then took up the bored [tube], then they made room for him.

Only he alone drank the sacred wine. And when he had drunk the sacred wine, thereupon all dispersed.

vncan tepan icaca in patecatl, iuhquin tachcauh muchivaia,

njman ie quiquetza in tochtecomatl vncā conteca in macujlvctli in qujlvjaia teuvctli, njman ie quivalquistia in piaztli acatl vncan cōmanaia in teuvctli ipan, çan matlacpoalli vnei, auh çan ce in cosonquj,

auh in occēma, njman ie ic netotilo, tlaiavalolo, mjtotia in centzontotochtin,

njman ie ic vi in jvicpa teuvctli, cenca moquequeça in ac iehoatl quittaz cosonquj, auh in aquin oquittac, in oquicujc cosonquj, njman ic quitlalcavia,

ça icel qujticac in teuvctli: auh in onteutlaoanoc, njman ic viujlooa.

Epcoaquacuiltzin.

The Epcoaquacuiltzin—behold what were his duties: when feasts should be celebrated, perchance when a new fifty-two-year cycle should start—verily, all feasts—all of them he announced; or when fire was laid. In truth, all that should be done, all things this man thus commanded and furthered.

Epcoaquacujltzin.

In epcoaquacujltzin, izca yn jtequjuh catca: Yn iquac ilhujtl qujçaia, yn açe xiuhtzitzqujlo: in ie muchi ilhujtl, muchi ipā tlatoaia, injc tletemalca in ie muchi muchivaz muchi iehoatl ic tlanavatiaia, ipan tlatoaia.

The Keeper of the Gods of Molonco.

The Keeper of the Gods of Molonco also had this as his duty: In his charge were the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber, the black stain, and all which this one needed when [sacrificial victims] were to die. And he had in his charge the black stain with which was painted [the impersonator of the god] Chiconauecatl, and the incense ladle, the quail, and the black plumes with which [he who was arrayed in the likeness of] Chiconauecatl was feathered.

Moloncoteuhoa.

In moloncoteuhoa, çan no iehatl itequjuh catca, ipan tlatoaia, in amatl in copalli, in vlli, in tlilli, in isqujch itech monequja in iehoatl in iquac miquja, auh in tlilli ic moçaia, in chicunavecatl yoan ipan tlatoaia in tlemaitl, in çolin yoan in ihujtl tliltic ic mopotonjaia in chicunavecatl.

The [Priest of] Cinteotl.

The duties of the [Priest of] Cinteotl were that all things which were required be thus commanded, so that the paper, the incense, the [liquid] rubber,

Cinteutzin.

In itequjuh catca cinteutzin çan isqujch in ipan tlatoaia, ic tlanavatiaia, injc monechicoaia in amatl in copalli, in vlli in jiauhtli in itech monequja xilo-

643 301 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant; — apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

[532] A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold; — metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A green stone nose rod; — chalchiuhiacamjtl,

A fine turquoise nose rod; — teuxiuhiacamjtl,

A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together; — chalchiuhconcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlaceoxi,

A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;* — coztic teucujtlachaiaoac concatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,

A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold; — quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,

[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg; — coztic teucujtlacotzcoatl,

A quetzal feather banner held in the hand; — quetzalmacpanjtl,

A quetzal bird as headdress; — quetzaltotoicpacxuchitl,

Quetzal feather horns; — quetzalquaquaujtl,

A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold; — quetzalecaceoaztli coztic teucujtlaio

A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension; — xiuhmacopilli,

A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells; — coztic teucujtlachipulconcatl,

A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells; — teucujtlacoztic acuechconcatl,

643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans* when the ruler danced. — xuchitl, ietl, inciscaujl tlatoanj, tez..atl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amanteca impial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

[278 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals. — oçeloencactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells; — teponaztli, teponaztzaztzatli, teuetl aiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tezilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant. — cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, uetzonanj, tlatzotzonquj, cujcaitoanj,

415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent. — tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in isquich omjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacoxcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaacaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,

351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance. — xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inenca catca: ca maçonaz in tlatoanj,

415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded. — tencatanatli, tziquaoaztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 942; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1098f., on etymology of ornaments.

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 19). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

[p. 36(O)]

[p. 36(N) is blank]

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643 264 272 415 The chocolate was served in a painted gourd vessel, with a stopper also painted with a design, and [having] a beater; or in a painted gourd, smoky [in color], from neighboring lands, with a gourd stopper, and a jar rest of ocelot skin or of cured leather. In a small net were kept the earthen jars, the strainer with which was purified the chocolate, a large, earthen jar for making the chocolate, a large painted gourd vessel in which the hands were washed, richly designed drinking vessels; [there were] large food baskets, sauce dishes, polished dishes, and wooden dishes.

injc motecaia cacaoatl, tecontlacujlolli, atzaccaiotl tlacujlolli, aquauitl aiotectli tlacujlolli, poctecomatl anaocaiotl, atzaccaiotl aiotectli, aiaoalli oçcloeoatl, cuetlaxiaoalli, chitatli in vncan mopia tecomatl, atzatzcloaztli, injc moiectia cacaoatl, vevei tecomatl achioalonj, vevej tlacujlolxicalli injc nematequjlo, tzobocalli tlaioalonj, tlaqualchiqujujtl, molcaxitl, petzcaxitl, quauhcaxitl.

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sums; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions —biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

elotlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, necutamalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcalmjmjlli. 443 643 656 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca acaquaujtl, acaiietl, iietlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xochiocotzotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioñ tlequaztli, ioan apaztli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl, ioan xaiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in çoqujtecomatl, ioñ in jxquich tlamantli çoqujtlatqujtl. 443 463 656 [276] [345]

Auh in ichoantin tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, intlacamo qujmocujtlauja, intequjuh, tococo, ioan caoaltilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli qujnamaca, aço tlaçoçilmatli, anoço chalchiujtl, intla oiximachililoc, intlacamo qujnextiz in aquin qujcobujli, in tlein tlachtectli, qujtzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tlatzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmacaçia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel qujcoaia, [685]

in jntequjuh catca tianqujzpantlaca qujchioaia iiaujtacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan texoatzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequjtia tianqujztli, ioan tianqujzpan tlaiacanque, in tlaixquetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequjtlatoque catca. 443 722 651 705

21. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 235, describes *quequelli* as "*hojas y renuevos de las frijoles*"; on p. 338, however, it is given as *Mauvedrymuskraute Matalone L.*

[p. 70 is blank]

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Appendix A

Continuation of the Fourth Paragraph, Chapter Fourteen[1]

In the priests' house of Mexico, there were established and congregated all the keepers of the gods, the fire priests, and [other] priests, the city's devout ones. There they waited [lest] perchance the ruler might require something—perhaps inquire about something, mayhap of something they had seen in all the places where debts [of sacrifice] had been paid upon the mountains and upon the water; there where, afar, were the small pyramids where each night they performed penances.

For these who were fire priests and other priests, when they came forth well into the night, and when, as was said, the shell trumpets were newly blown, first drew their blood before the devil, with thorns, the spines of the maguey; then each one separately set forth, going quite naked. They went [out] having put about them only their pouches with cords,[2] which went filled with dyed, powdered tobacco—this tobacco mixed with a black [dye]—which they chewed as they went. And one proceeded taking with him an incense ladle in which fire went enclosed; and a small cotton bag in which was incense; and pine wood; and he carried his fir branches in his arms, as well as his spines covered with blood, and a shell as his trumpet. And even though it rained hard or was freezing, just so he went.

When he reached whatsoever mountain he was to perform his due upon, then and there he paid his debt [of sacrifice]. He offered incense; he spread out his fir boughs, his bloodied maguey spines. He listened for the time when trumpets were to be sounded in Mexico, at midnight. And when the trumpets had been sounded in Mexico at midnight, then the priests, they who did penance, blew trumpets everywhere there upon the mountains where they paid their debts. Then they turned back, sounding trumpets as they went, in the dawn, when they again entered the priests' house.

Calmecac, mexico, vncan tecpanoaya, vncan mo- 346
cenquixtiaya in ixquichtin teupixque yn tlenamaca- 793
que, yn tlamacazque yn itlamaceuhcauan catca
altepetl, conchiaya yn aço itla ic quintemoz tlatoani,
aço itla ic tlatlaniz, aço itla quitta yn ompa yzquican
omoztlauha yn tepeticpac, yoā atlan, yoan yn ompa
veca caca momoztli, yeceyoual yc tlamaceua.

Ca y iehoanti tlenamacaque, tlamacazque catca 793
yquac quiçaya yn tlaquauh tlapoyaua, ỹ mitoaya
yancujcan tlatlapitzalo, achto miçoya in ixpan tlaca- [758]
tecolotl yca vitztli, ỹ metl yuitzo, niman ceceyaca
quiçaya, çan petlauhtiuja, çan ixquich onactiuia yn [281]
intoxi yntlamocayouh vncan tentiuh yaqualli yehoatl
im piçietl tlanelolli tlilli yn quiquatiuja, yoan quit- [276
quitiuia tlemaitl tzacuhtiuh vnca yetiuh tletl, yoā 415]
xiquipiltontli yc icatiuh copalli, yoā ocotl, yoā quiçia-
cauia yn iacxoyauh, yoan in iuitz yeheço, yoan tecu-
ciztli yn itlapitzal ỹ manel cenca quiauiz, anoço
ceuetziz yuhca viya.

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yn iquac yn oacic campa tepetitech tlamatiuh nimā 796
yc vncā moztlaua, tlenamaca, contema yn iacxoyauh, 783
yn iuitz yeheço, quiualcaqui in queman tlapitzaloz
mexico y youalnepantla, auh yn otlapitzaloc mexico
youalnepantla, niman yc nouian tlapitza yn tlama-
cazque yn tlamaceuhque yn ompa tepetitech in
campa omoztlaua, niman valmocuepa tlatlapitztiuj- [534]
tze ye tlauiznauac, y ualcalaqui calmecac.

1. See note 11, Chapter 14.

2. Leonhard Schultze Jena, in *Gliederung der Alt-Azteckischen Volks in Familie, Stand und Beruf* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 330, says of the form ostoc: "*Da er im Text dieselben bezeichnet, die den Copalbeutel tragen, wird er sich von Pfeiler handeln.*" The term tlamamaquitic he translates (*ibid.*, p. 361), "*schlimm sie war einer Sklave.*"

787 A second omen came to pass here in Mexico: quite of its own accord fire broke out in the house of the demon Uitzilopochtli, and flared greatly. No one had set fire to it; only of itself it burst into flames. It was called Itepeyoc,[4] at the place named Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the [335] squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them[5] emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze [which] speedily ate all the house beams. Thereupon there was an outcry; [the priests] said: "O Mexicans, hasten here to put out [the fire! ● [415] Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they cast water upon it, when they sought to smother it, all the more did it flare. It could not be put out; it all burned.

Injc vntetl tetzavitl muchiuh, njcan mexico: çan monoonavi in tlatlac, cuetlan, aiac ma quitlecavi, çan monoma tlecavi in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli: mjtoaia, itioc itocaiocan Tlacateccan: in nex ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli, in jtec, oalqujca in tlemjiaoutl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecueçalutl, cenca çan iciuhca conpulo in itqujch calquavitl: njman ie ic tlacaoaca, qujtoa. Mexicae ma vallatotoca, tla cevilox, amaapilol: auh in jquac caatequjaia, in qujcevitzneçuja, çan ie ilhujce mopitza, aocmo vel ceuh, vel tlatlac.

[346] A third omen: a temple was struck by a thunder bolt. It was only a straw hut, a place called Tzonmulco, Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was raining not heavily; it only sprinkled, so that it was considered a bad omen. For, it was said, there was a mere[6] summer flash; nor did thunder sound.

Injc etetl tetzavitl: vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzûmulco: iteupan in xiuhtecutli, amo tilaoaia, çan aoachqujavia in juh tetzammachoc: iuh mjtoa in ça çan tonalhujtecoc, amono caqujztic in tlatlatzinjliztli.

A fourth omen: there was yet sun when a comet fell. It became three parts. It departed from where the sun set and traveled toward where he came forth. As if sprinkling live coals, [so] its tail went extended a great distance. Far did its tail reach. And when it was seen, great was the uproar; like [the din of] shell rattles [the outcry] was overspread.[7]

Injc nauhtetl tetzavitl: oc vnca in tonatiuh in xivitl vetz ietzietia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaqujampa; auh vnpa itztia in jquiçaianpa, iuhquj in tlenuchtli pipixauhtiuh, veca mocujtlapiltitiuh, veca acitiuh in jcujtlapil: auh in oittoc cêca tlacaoacac, iuhqujn oiovalli ônoman.

A fifth omen: the water [of the lake] foamed up. No wind stirred it up. It was as if the water swirled, as if it boiled up with a cracking sound. Very far [731] did it go, as it rose upward. And it reached the bases of the houses, and flooded them, and crumbled the houses.[8] This was the great lake which stretcheth about us here in Mexico.[9]

Injc macujltetl tetzavitl: poçon in atl, amo iehecatl qujpoçonalti, iuhqujn momomoloca, iuhqujn xixittemomoloca, cenca veca in ia, injc macoquetza: auh in calli tzitzintla cacic, auh capapachiuh, xixitin in calli: iehoatl in vei atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

A sixth omen: often a woman was heard [as] she went weeping and crying out. Loudly did she call out at night. She walked about saying: "O my

Injc chiquacemilamantli tetzavitl: mjecpa ciouel cacoia chocaiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioaltica cenca tzatzi; qujtoznemj. Nonopilhoantzitzin, ie ic çan ie tonvi: in

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4. Probably Itepeyoc is meant for *Itzinic*. See Chapter 19 of this Book; also *Memoriale en 3 columnas*, in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún — *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* (Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906), VII, p. 93; Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938) I, pp. 215, 229; and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 161.

5. Book VIII of the *Florentine Codex* has *ôtic* in a similar passage. In the *Real Palacio* MS it reads: *yoio ȳ calpulcjo*.

6. *Ce* can appears in *loc. cit.*

7. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book VIII — Kingsborough and Lords, p. 18, n. 5.

8. In the *Real Palacio* MS, this passage reads: *"auh ȳ calli quimotlatia cuajc ihuh ocȳ papachihuh ocquiz xixitin."*

9. In *loc. cit.*, manj is followed by *"ihuh yuic onacauay yuic onacuel yā no cenpa ya ȳ cenpa nemitia ȳ ocȳ ayiqujn."*

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— *After Paso y Troncoso*

44. Marina interprets for the Spaniards when Moctezuma meets Cortés (Chapter 16). 45, 46. Spaniards take Moctezuma with them as they enter the great palace (Chapter 17). 47. Supplies demanded by the Spaniards (Chapter 17). 48. Moctezuma leads Cortés to the treasure (Chapter 17). 49, 50. Spaniards and allies loot the treasure house (Chapter 17). 51. Marina addresses Mexican noblemen (Chapter 19). 52. Mexicans leave supplies for the Spaniards (Chapter 18).

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—After Paso y Troncoso

67. Mexicans recover bodies and loot from the Toltec canal (Chapter 25). 98. Mexicans at Coloacayuca (Chapter 25). 99. Spaniards climb up to Tenochtitlan (Chapter 25). 100, 101. People of Tenochtitlan welcome the Spaniards (Chapter 26). 102. Spaniards prepare to depart from Tenochtitlan (Chapter 26).

[P.44(0)]

726 Thirty-third Chapter, in which is told how the people of the floating gardens, those of Xochimilco and Cuitlauac, and of Itztapalapan, and still others, came to help the Mexicans.

726 And once it came to pass that the people of Xochi-
648 milco, Misquic, Colhuacan, Mexicatzinco, and Itz-tapalapan sent emissaries who came to confer with Quauhtemoc and still other noblemen and chieftains. They came, saying to them: "O my beloved prince, with a little we have come to give aid to the city. Perchance it may be that thus the debt is paid [you]. These are the words of the rulers who yet guard there. In truth here dwell the rulers; so have come and assembled the eagle and ocelot [warriors] in boats, in order, they say, now to drive off our foes."

And upon this, when they had said their say, when they had spoken, thereupon [Quauhtemoc] replied to them: "It is well. Ye have shown favor [to us]; ye have suffered trials and tribulations. Help the city. Let there be battle!"

[415 431 272] After this, he gave them gifts; he gave them devices and shields, and they gave them each chocolate. To each one they gave a shallow gourd vessel of chocolate. Thereupon he said to them: "Onward! Let there be battle, O chieftains! For our foes already are come!" Thereafter went the emissaries there to where lived those of Cuitlauac; they escorted them there. And as they went, then grew the crying of war cries everywhere along the road. Thereafter there was fighting.

726 But these people of Xochimilco then also raised a war cry and fell upon the boats. In no wise did they help us, but only, then, robbed the people. They despoiled the beloved women and the small children, and the beloved old women. Then some they there slew; there these breathed their last. And still others they did not slay, but carefully lowered them into the boats.

And when already they were doing this, when already they were spiriting the people away, then chieftains raised an outcry. They said: "O Mexicans, what now are the fools doing? Let all pursue them!" Thereupon there were war cries. They gave them chase in boats.

Injc cmpoalli omoadtetli omei cxpitolo vacan mjtoa in quenjn chinanpaneca in Suchimjlca, cujtlavaca, yoan in Jtztipalapaneca, yoan oc cequjntin vallaque in quinpalevinquja mexica

Auh ceppa mochiuh in ichoantin suchimjlca, cujtlaoaca mjnqujca, colhoaque, Mexicatzincatl, Jtztapalapanecatl, vallaivaque, quinonotzaco in quauhtemoctzin, yoā in oc cequjntin in tlatoque, in tiacavan: quimjlhujco. Nopiltzintzine ca achitzin ic ticpalevico in atl, in tepetl, aço velitiz ca çan ic ixtlavico in intlatol in tlatoque, in oc vmpa tlapia, ca nel njcan onoque in tlatoque, ca ovallaque, ocenquiçaco in quauhtli ocelotl in acaltica: ca qujl axcā quicentlaçaz in toiaouh.

Auh in ie iuhquj in oconjtoque in intlatol, in ontlanonotzaque njman ie ic quimjlhuja. Ca ie qualli, oanmotlacnelilique oanquimjhiovilticque, oanquimociavilticque ma xicmopalevilican in altepetl, ma tlaiciecavi:

njman ie ic quintlauhtia, quinmaca in tlavitztli, in chimalli, yoan quincacavatique, cecen xicalpechtli in quinmacaque cacaoatl: njmā ie ic quimjlhuja. tlacuecuetl, tla tlaiciecavi tiacaoane, ca ie vitze in toiaovan, njma ie ic vi in titlanti in vmpa onoque in cujtlavaca in quinvalhujcaque. Auh in oiaque njman ic maantimoquetz in tlacavaca in jxqujcan vtlica: njman ie ic necalioa.

Auh in ichoantin in, in Suchimjlca njman ie ic no icavaca, yoan macalhujtequj: amo ma techpalevique, çan njmā ie ic tenamoia, quinnamonque in ciostzitzinti, yoan in pipiltzitzinti, yoan in jlamatzitzin njman cequjntin vacan q'nmjctique vacan ihiotl quja. Auh in oc cequjntin amo quinmjctique, çan ivian acalco quimonemovique.

Auh in ie iuh quichioa inin ie tenaoalpolon: njman ic tzatzique in tequjvaque, quitoque. Mexicae: teiti ic quichioa in, tlavelilloque? ma vallatoteca: njman ie ic tlacavaca, quintoca acaltica.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
40 ocelot skins
[415] 800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[314] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

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[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 252.
[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81 [illegible] as *Conirgo amabilis* Gould.
[c] *FNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada uno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada uno, de ocoxe quilates: pagando en totonaes al Respeto."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexicano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province.[a]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses[b]
402 bundles[c] of little red-striped mantles[b]
800 bundles of large mantles[b]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[d]

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[e] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove.[f]

[a] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 43–44.

[b] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[c] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiso de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en poluo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

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643 other things which are bred in this country, and they
252 are so numerous that I cannot finish naming them in a
262 hurry; so we had no insight into it, but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth.

643 Let us cease speaking of this and return to the way
264 things were served to him at meal times. It was in this
[374] way: if it was cold they made up a large fire of live coals of a firewood made from the bark of trees which did not give off any smoke, and the scent of the bark from which the fire was made was very fragrant, and so that it should not give off more heat than he required, they placed in
[353] front of it a sort of screen adorned with figures of idols
[352] worked in gold. He was seated on a low stool, soft and richly worked, and the table, which was also low, was made in the same style as the seats, and on it they placed the table cloths of white cloth and some rather long napkins of the same material. Four very beautiful
[415] cleanly women brought water for his hands in a sort of deep basin which they call "xicales,"[1] and they held others like plates below to catch the water, and they brought him towels. And two other women brought him tortilla bread, and as soon as he began to eat they placed before him a sort of wooden screen painted over with gold, so that no one should watch him eating. Then the four women stood aside, and four great chieftains who were old men came and stood beside them, and with these Montezuma now and then conversed, and asked them questions, and as a great favour he would give to each of these elders a dish of what to him tasted best. They say that these elders were his near relations, and were his counsellors and judges of law suits, and the

[1] Gourds.

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dishes and food which Montezuma gave them they ate standing up with much reverence and without looking at his face. He was served on Cholula earthenware either red or black. While he was at his meal the men of his guard who were in the rooms near to that of Montezuma, never dreamed of making any noise or speaking aloud. They brought him fruit of all the different kinds that the land produced, but he ate very little of it. From time to time they brought him, in cup-shaped vessels of pure gold, a certain drink made from cacao which they said he took when he was going to visit his wives, and at the time he took no heed of it, but what I did see was that they brought over fifty great jugs of good cacao frothed up, and he drank of that, and the women served this drink to him with great reverence.

Sometimes at meal-times there were present some very ugly humpbacks, very small of stature and their bodies almost broken in half, who are their jesters, and other Indians, who must have been buffoons, who told him witty sayings, and others who sang and danced, for Montezuma was fond of pleasure and song, and to these he ordered to be given what was left of the food and the jugs of cacao. Then the same four women removed the table cloths, and with much ceremony they brought water for his hands. And Montezuma talked with those four old chieftains about things that interested him, and they took leave of him with the great reverence in which they held him, and he remained to repose.

As soon as the Great Montezuma had dined, all the men of the Guard had their meal and as many more of the other house servants, and it seems to me that they brought out over a thousand dishes of the food of which I have spoken, and then over two thousand jugs of cacao all frothed up, as they make it in Mexico, and a limitless quantity of fruit, so that with his women and female

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deer, mallards, young dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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off the stone itself; and the fisherwomen and others who sell some small cakes made from a sort of ooze which they get out of the great lake, which curdles, and from this they make a bread having a flavour something like cheese. There are for sale axes of brass and copper and tin, and gourds and gaily painted jars made of wood. I could wish that I had finished telling of all the things which are sold there, but they are so numerous and of such different quality and the great market place with its surrounding arcades was so crowded with people, that one would not have been able to see and inquire about it all in two days.

Then we went to the great Cue, and when we were already approaching its great courts, before leaving the market place itself, there were many more merchants, who, as I was told, brought gold for sale in grains, just as it is taken from the mines. The gold is placed in thin quills of the geese of the country, white quills, so that the gold can be seen through, and according to the length and thickness of the quills they arrange their accounts with one another, how much so many mantles or so many gourds full of cacao were worth, or how many slaves, or whatever other thing they were exchanging.

Now let us leave the great market place, and not look at it again, and arrive at the great courts and walls where the great Cue stands. Before reaching the great Cue there is a great enclosure of courts, it seems to me larger than the plaza of Salamanca, with two walls of masonry surrounding it and the court itself all paved with very smooth great white flagstones. And where there were not these stones it was cemented and burnished and all very clean, so that one could not find any dust or a straw in the whole place.

When we arrived near the great Cue and before we had ascended a single step of it, the Great Montezuma sent

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apart from the great Cue there was another small tower which was also an Idol house, or a true hell, for it had at the opening of one gate a most terrible mouth such as they depict, saying that such there are in hell. The mouth was open with great fangs to devour souls, and here too were some groups of devils and bodies of serpents close to the door, and a little way off was a place of sacrifice all blood-stained and black with smoke, and encrusted with blood, and there were many great ollas and cántaros and tinajas[1] of water inside the house, for it was here that they cooked the flesh of the unfortunate Indians who were sacrificed, which was eaten by the priests. There were also near the place of sacrifice many large knives and chopping blocks, such as those on which they cut up meat in the slaughter houses. Then behind that cursed house, some distance away from it, were some great piles of firewood, and not far from them a large tank of water which rises and falls, the water coming through a tube from the covered channel which enters the city from Chapultepec. I always called that house "the Infernal Regions."

Let us go on beyond the court to another Cue where the great Mexican princes were buried, where also there were many Idols, and all was full of blood and smoke, and it had other doorways with hellish figures, and then near that Cue was another full of skulls and large bones arranged in perfect order, which one could look at but could not count, for there were too many of them. The skulls were by themselves and the bones in separate piles. In that place there were other Idols, and in every house or Cue or oratory that I have mentioned there were priests with long robes of black cloth and long hoods like those of the Dominicans, and slightly resembling those of the Canons. The hair

[1] Names of various large pottery vessels for holding water and cooking.

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it was called the Four Hundred Rabbits; for very few did it affect favorably.

And when, it was said, the day Two Rabbit set in, then was celebrated the feast day of the principal wine god, who was called Izquitecatl. And although only he alone was named, yet at that time they remembered all the wine gods, who became the wine. Thus was Izquitecatl greatly revered. They set up his image in his temple. There they laid gifts before him; for him they sang and provided music with gourd tubes. And before him stood a stone basin, called two-rabbit basin — full, to the brim. Into the wine dipped the drinking tubes, extending from it so that those who sampled the wine stood drinking it: but only those who could drink, the old men, the old women, the intrepid warriors, the bold, the foolish, who paid the debt with their heads and their breasts. That is, they would be captured sometime when war was declared; or else on issuing forth [to battle] they would capture others and take prisoners. So [by drinking] they went about mocking death.

And the wine which they drank never came to an end; [the basin] never stood empty. The wine makers, the wine making officials, continued pouring it into [the basin]. All came assembling there where they cut the maguey, when everywhere it was the time and season for breaking into the maguey. This was because then they offered new wine. If someone for the first time broke into the maguey, he first poured the extracted material there. Thus they said he poured out wine and offered the wine-pouring to Izquitecatl; they gave him wine to drink.

But not only at this time did they pour wine; rather, always were offerings so made in his temple.

Ioan in jquac mjtoaia, moquetza tonalli, vme tochtli: vncan ilhujquiztililoia, in jmachcauh totochti: in moteneoa Izquitecatl: auh macivin çan jcel moteneoa, ca oncan quinoemjlnamjquia, in totochti, ovcti, ic cenca maviztililoia in izquitecatl, quitlaliaia ixipila in jteupan: vncan quitlamanjlia, quicujcatia, quitlapichilia acocotica: yoan ixpan icaca tecomjtl, itoca vmetochtecomatl, tentimanj, pexontimanj, in vctli: ipā manj piaztli, piazçotimanj, mamazço ic conjtimanj in aquique vmpa ontlatlapaloa: tel çan iehoan in ie tlaoananj, in veuetque, in jlamatque ioan in iaotlauchiloque, in mjivintia: in aquen tlatta, in quipoppoa, yn intzontecon, yn jmelchiqujuh, quitznequj: ca onvicoxque in quenmā, in ooalmjto iaoiotl: auh no ce onquiçativi, oaltecalaquizque ontlamatiuj: ic mmomjquiztequelotinenca:

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auh in vctli quja, aquenman tlamja, ſquēman cactnc, in contecatimanj tlachicque, tecutlachique: izquich oalacitimanj in tetlāchic, yn noviian tlachicpan, tlachicoaian, ca vncan vitzmana intla aca iācuiican otlatlapan, vncā achto quiteca in jtlachic: ic quitoaia tlatoiaoa, quimanjlia itlatoiaoal in Izquitecatl, quitlatoiavilia:

auh amo çanjio iquac, y, in tlatoiaoaia: ca çan muchipa iuh tlamanca, in iteupan.

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94-101. Our Rabbit's good fortune (Chapter 30).

— Alfar Pass y Troncoso

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